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PRINCIPLES
OF
CHURCH GOVERNMENT

WITH SPECIAL APPLICATION

TO THE

POLITY OF EPISCOPAL METHODISM,

AND

A PLAN FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GENERAL
CONFERENCE INTO TWO DISTINCT, SEPARATE,
AND CONCURRENT HOUSES.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM H. PERRINE, D.D.

ARRANGED AND EDITED,

WITH A LIFE STORY AND A REVIEW OF THE LAY DELE-
GATION MOVEMENT IN THE METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

By JAMES H. POTTS, D.D.

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MY sole aim is to excite those who have the welfare of the Church at heart to unite their endeavors in opposing the fatal tendencies of centralization of power in the General Conference.

If that evil day is delayed it will be because we shall clearly descry that distribution of power essential to liberty built up over against the ramparts of a mighty executive, and so perfect a judicatory as to hold both the legislative and the executive to the strictest construction of their respective responsibilities. Truth will ever be unpalatable only to those who are determined not to relinquish error, but can never give offense to honest minds.—DR. PERRINE.

P R E F A C E.

DR. PERRINE was fond of quoting from Milton the line,

“Heaven’s high behest no preface needs,”

and so far as the subject-matter and purpose of his writings are concerned the same is true. But our relation to these writings requires a word of explanation.

With Dr. Perrine, as with many other great men, the ruling passion was strong in death. One of his last requests was that his papers on lay representation and kindred themes might be gathered up and published to the world. Mrs. Perrine intended to fulfill this sacred injunction. She was familiar with her husband’s writings, and in hearty sympathy with all his literary efforts; but long absence in the West, and attendance upon other duties, interfered with her cherished plans. She then requested the undersigned to undertake the work of editing these papers for the press.

Only the most profound reverence for the memory of Dr. Perrine, and the most absolute conviction that he was sound in the majority of his views, induced us, in the midst of our multifarious duties, to undertake the task.

Some difficulty has attended the labor. From the very necessity of the case Dr. Perrine was a controversialist. He contended for the supremacy of a strongly disputed principle. He antagonized the positions of some of the best writers and speakers in the Church. He sounded their views to the bottom. His treatment of a question was never superficial, but always deep and thorough. He went back to first principles, and invariably submitted the reasons for the faith that was in

him. He shrank from contact with no opponent, however great or good or popular. Always respectful, and frequently complimentary, he nevertheless treated his opponents' ideas strictly on their merits, and, when occasion required, hesitated not to crush down those ideas with invincible logic, and exhibit their worthlessness by the most scathing rhetoric. Instances of this characteristic will be found in the body of this book, although, for obvious reasons, many of the controversial features and personal allusions have been omitted.

There was a consistency of word and act in Dr. Perrine's entire public career which few appreciate, but which this volume will, we trust, in some measure indicate.

The plan of the book is apparent. The first three chapters are by the editor; all remaining chapters, foot-notes, incidental editing and arrangement excepted, are by Dr. Perrine.

Believing that the principles of our author are in the main correct, and that if practically approved by the Church they will prevent much unwise legislation, save us from many embarrassments, and enshrine the name of our lamented dead in the hearts and hopes of oncoming generations, we most respectfully submit this volume to the attention of thinking people.

JAMES H. POTTS.

AFTER a careful examination of the manuscript of this book I desire to express my high appreciation of the work of its editor, who has successfully overcome the difficulties of its compilation. I would present to him my most grateful acknowledgments for the painstaking care and the marked ability he has brought to the work. To the Great Disposer of events I would render thanksgiving for the providence which has thus opened the way for the presentation to the Church of principles which seem to me vital to its highest interests. LIVONIA B. PERRINE.

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PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I. THE LIFE STORY.

"Some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em."

REV. WILLIAM H. PERRINE, D.D., belonged to that class which achieves greatness. Under God he mapped out his own successful career, and with undaunted heart steadfastly pursued his purpose until summoned to a higher world. Yet he was well born. He traced his lineage back to the Huguenots of France who, at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, braved the perils of the deep to find an asylum in America, where freedom from persecution and true liberty could be enjoyed. His ancestor, Pierre Perrine, emigrated with two sons, Henry and Daniel, in 1685, embarking with other refugees at Rochelle, France, in the ship *Caledonia*, which was wrecked and beached upon the south-east corner of Staten Island. While yet upon shipboard the refugees entered into a solemn covenant that they and their children to the latest generation

should be the Lord's. Two young brothers, mere children, were brought ashore in one garment. From these brothers were descended a long line of distinguished Presbyterians. William Henry was of the seventh generation. The family had centered about Monmouth, N. J., and had numerous representatives in the ministry, and in honored positions in collegiate and civil life. During the revolutionary struggle these all identified themselves firmly and conspicuously with the cause of liberty, and one of the decisive battles of the Revolution was fought on the premises of his grandfather, John Perrine, of Monmouth. In 1798 his family removed to Lyons, N. Y., where William Henry was born, October 8, 1827. In 1833 the family migrated to Michigan, settling in Sandstone, Jackson County. His parents were Presbyterians. When William was once asked how it transpired that he was a Methodist when he had such an heroic Calvinistic ancestry, he replied, "Because, doubtless, it was so ordained."

The family was large, he having eight brothers and four sisters. It was also poor, and its members endured all the hardships of pioneer life. William early manifested the intellectual bent which afterward gave him such distinction. His career of self-application, self-help, and self-mastery began in childhood. At eleven he was a close student, though compelled to prosecute his studies under great disadvantages. He is said to have borrowed many books and read them eagerly by firelight, so determined was he to store his mind with knowledge. At the age of nineteen he matriculated at Hillsdale College, and graduated from that institution

in 1853. He once told us something of how he fared while prosecuting his studies at college. Often his only repast was "cold biscuit and cheese," but his mind was feasting on higher food. The indomitable powers of his great soul enabled him to surmount all obstacles, endure all privations, and win an educational victory at any cost. By teaching school, and other employments, he earned sufficient money to pay absolutely necessary expenses. Yet he kept pace in his studies with his more favored school-mates, and graduated in regular order with his class.

His religious training, of course, had been carefully attended to. From a child he had known the Holy Scriptures and had learned to fear God. At the age of thirteen he was deeply convicted of his sinful state and earnestly sought pardon. His conversion was clear and thorough. He at once united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Then came a struggle. He immediately felt that God had called him to the work of the ministry, but his strong proclivity for artistic pursuits seemed to lead in another direction. Conscience triumphed. In 1851, while yet a college student, he was licensed to preach, joined the Michigan Annual Conference, and was stationed at South Albion. In 1852 he was appointed to Parma, but preached in Jackson while the regular pastor, Rev. S. Clements, was engaged in collecting funds to pay a debt upon the church. About this time he became impressed that he should go as a missionary to Africa, and asked his brethren to hold him for that field; but the way appeared not to open, and he finally relinquished the thought. During all his

young manhood he was the subject of strong impressions and impulses, which his friends could dislodge only with much difficulty, and he always retained a sense of divine sanction upon all his labors and plans.

His early ministry was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. He prepared his sermons with much care, studied deeply the meaning of every word, searched earnestly for the most vigorous and striking thought, and made all his pulpit efforts glow with the enthusiasm of his own soul.

His round of appointments stood as follows: 1854-55, Lafayette Street, Detroit; 1856-57, Adrian; 1858, trip to Palestine and Jerusalem; 1859, Ann Arbor; 1860-61, superannuated; 1862-63, Flint; 1864-67, Professor of Natural Science and Painting in Albion College; 1868, trip to Europe; 1868-69, Central Church, Lansing; 1870, presiding elder of Lansing District; 1871-73, Professor of History and Belles-lettres in Albion College; 1874, St. Joseph; 1875-77, Albion; 1878, Marango; 1879, Parma; 1880, Concord.

At Adrian, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Flint, and Lansing he labored especially hard, and witnessed abundant spiritual fruit. During these years he advanced rapidly in pulpit power and in the graces of the divine life. In October, 1854, he married Miss Livonia E. Benedict, a lady of rare culture, worth, and refinement, who proved a devoted and accomplished wife, a helpful companion in study, and a warm sympathizer with him in all his subsequent labors and aims. During several years she filled the chair of languages and mathematics, and

acted as preceptress in Albion College with marked ability.

Five children blessed this marriage union, all daughters. One, Mary Blanche, died at the age of two years. The eldest, Lura L., who graduated from the classical course of Albion College in 1880, resides with her mother at Medbery, Dakota, and is teaching near their home. The second, Clara B., a lady of rare intellectual gifts, was an invalid for several years from overstudy, but was slowly regaining health when her father died. Very soon after she became insane and was taken to the asylum at Kalamazoo, where she still remains. The third, Florence M., is a bright young lady, and a graduate from the classical course of Albion College, class of 1887. The youngest, Edith L., a sweet girl of perhaps nineteen years, is with her mother, and pursuing her studies under the direction of her accomplished sister Lura.

Nothing can exceed in loveliness the home life of Dr. Perrine. In all his private and domestic relations he was most true and tender, affectionate and generous. He never was untrue to a friend, and never forgot a kindness shown to him. His life was pure, his conduct blameless. Unselfish, great-hearted, he took his friends into his sympathies and love, and there was an inner circle of fellowship which in fidelity and warmth cannot be excelled on this earth.

Some good men called him "erratic." Possibly in some things he was. As Rev. Dr. D. F. Barnes says:

"I have been his pastor, and for years lived his neighbor. I have traveled with him. We have been room-

mates and bed-fellows for six weeks. I have never found any one more unselfish, and of a more generous nature. He was a man of excellent thought and great research, of strong faith and most noble and generous impulses. He was an indefatigable worker. Indeed, in my judgment, his greatest fault was in trying to do too much. I have freely conversed with him on those points which seemed to me points of failure. Had he undertaken less, had he concentrated more, he would have excelled as a successful teacher, or as the great and eloquent winner of souls. He undertook so many things that the great soul was burdened. This a soul less noble, perhaps, could not have done. Once as we roomed together, at a district meeting, speaking of places for the next General Conference, I suggested that we might not live to see that time. He replied, 'I shall if God has use for me. Of that I give myself no concern.'

Dr. Perrine was very appreciative of any thing said or done in his behalf. The heartiest thanks we ever received from any man came from him after we had written a word of commendation of his plans for the church. Never shall we forget the earnest, firmly-spoken "God bless you" which came from his lips as he grasped our hand and drew us closely to himself.

It was so in all his work. When in the pastorate he acted upon the principle that those who did the most, sacrificed the most, were most faithful under all circumstances, deserved the largest benefits and blessings. Once he said to a friend, "When I have a stormy Sun-

day, and but few at church, I give them the best I have. I say to myself: If this people will leave their homes and come out to hear me preach such a day as this they shall have something worth while, if I have got it; and I always ask God to help me do my best.

“While laboring always to do his duty, his work was never cold or perfunctory in execution, but always inspired by warm love for his race. He possessed in large measure that ‘enthusiasm for humanity’ which the author of *Ecce Homo* points out as the distinguishing characteristic of the Master whom Dr. Perrine delighted to follow. He desired all good and noble things for his race, and was willing to spend time, labor, all he had, in its service; we have no doubt whatever that this self-devotion would have reached the point of martyrdom had such demand existed in our time.”

In doctrinal belief Dr. Perrine was thoroughly orthodox. He felt that there are some truths which must be believed. In respect to them faith is not optional. They are fundamental, vital, and essential to salvation. He was perfectly familiar, too, with these fundamentals. He well knew when they were encroached upon. He could scent heresy as keenly and scourge it as mercilessly as any man then living. He could not tolerate what are termed progressive views in regard to inspiration, the atonement, prayer, the resurrection, etc. With Longfellow he believed that—

“The sin of heresy is a deadly sin,
'Tis like the falling of the snow, whose crystals
The traveler plays with, thoughtless of his danger,
Until he sees the air so full of light

That it is dark; and blindly staggering onward,
Lost, and bewildered, he sits down to rest;
There falls a pleasant drowsiness upon him,
And what he thinks is sleep, alas! is death."

In his preaching Dr. Perrine gave due prominence to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and seemed to preach with eternity in view. He constantly inculcated the necessity and privilege of a complete consecration, and urged upon believers the acceptance of all the ten thousand blessings which God has in store for them. He was magnified constantly by his conception of the exalted sphere and privilege of a minister of Christ, and never lowered the true dignity of the sacred office by word or deed.

Dr. Perrine was one of the most unsuspecting and confiding of men. He seemed utterly unconscious that any interest of another could come in competition with his own. To him all virtuous society was an Eden of innocence, and his own deportment and conversation ever tended to keep it pure and charitable. He was the friend of youth, taking especial interest in young ministers, and never failing to impress them with his own moral excellence and kindness of heart. Rev. M. W. Darling, of the Congregational Church, who long knew him as a student and as associate in the faculty of Albion College, pays him the following tribute: "To me, as to all who knew him intimately, his death comes like that of an own brother. How I remember his tenderness in dealing with the erring; his forgiving spirit; his sympathetic heart for all! In the higher qualities of Christian character he was full. Whatever

his faults, they were not faults in respect to obedience to God and charity to men. In these he was truly a Christ-like man. In some difficult cases of discipline in the college I well remember his remark, and have ever since tried to profit by it: 'There are two ways of managing human nature—one is to drive; the other is to lead. My way is to lead.' Then started the sympathetic tear. In the highest qualities of Christ-like character he was peer among the noblest of mankind."

Dr. Perrine was a lover of the beautiful, both in nature and art. His æsthetic tastes and strong natural devotion to artistic pursuits, together with his thorough collegiate training, eminently qualified him for his work as a professor in Albion College. The fact that he filled acceptably at different times in that institution the chairs of natural science, history, belles-lettres, and art, proves the versatility of his talent and the ripeness of his culture. During his first professorship in that institution he really did double work, because otherwise work which seemed to him very important would have been left undone, the college being without endowment and in debt. To the chair of natural science he voluntarily added the department of painting. He also taught elocution, and devoted much time to the individual instruction and training of students in what seemed to him the best methods of oratorical composition.

His visit to the Holy Land gave a strong and eventful bias to his studies and life-work. The late Rev. Dr. J. M. Arnold, describing it, said: "His ardent soul drank in the artistic and æsthetic treasures of Europe, and the natural beauties and glories of the land whose

imagery glows upon the sacred page, which poured itself forth in entrancing description upon his return. He spent two years in lecturing, with a view of securing the means to return to Europe and complete his arrangements for a magnificent 'Landscape View of Palestine,' the conception of which had already crystallized in his own soul and was rapidly assuming form and shape."

His earliest achievement in this direction was a panorama covering several thousand feet of canvas, painted by Mr. Wheeler, a Michigan artist, from sketches made by Mr. Perrine and from photographs obtained by him. After a shipwreck, while crossing Lake Michigan in 1861, very many of the views were repainted by Mr. Perrine. Upon this panorama, glowing with reality, Dr. Perrine gave such lectures as only he could give. There have been more highly endowed orators and more pleasing speakers, but Dr. Perrine's lectures upon the Holy Land were pervaded by a minuteness of detail, a thorough grasp of the whole subject in all its bearings, and a religious awe and sublimity which, so far as our information extends, has never been excelled.

"But he justly regarded his 'General Landscape View of Palestine' as the greatest achievement of his life, apart from his personal agency in leading men to Christ. Upon that he spent nine years of labor and about six thousand dollars. He personally took sketches of the entire country. These he combined with remarkable and unequalled symmetry in a landscape view, which he reduced by about thirty distinct repaintings to its

final cast. In 1868 he went to Europe, and arranged in Berlin for the publication of this chromo by Storch and Kramer. As a work of art it is unquestionably meritorious. The highest indorsement of its correctness and penetrating force of representation have been given by such men as Renan, Doré, Dean Stanley, Drs. Strong, Gage, Duffield, and McClintock, with a multitude of others. But financially it was a failure, and involved him in a life-long struggle with debt and anxiety. If he could conscientiously have given his time to its introduction, there is little doubt that it would have proved lucrative; but he could not be induced to leave the ministry. It is said to have about cleared its cost, and there is still a fortune in it if properly handled."

When this striking and beautiful picture was being introduced, we remember to have seen enthusiastic descriptions of it in the religious press. Those who had culture to appreciate it praised it most highly. "Would you like to see how the land looks in which Jesus lived?" inquired one addressing Sunday-school readers. "Would you not enjoy a sail along its shores from Joppa to Sidon? I think most of you would. But, then, you cannot do that for lack of that important thing called an 'opportunity.' Yet there is a way in which you can get a view of that Holy Land just as it looks to those who do take such a sail. It is by getting your teachers to hang up Professor Perrine's 'General Landscape View of Palestine' in your Sunday-school. It is a beautifully executed chromotype, and shows the entire Holy Land in per-

spective. There is nothing else like it in the world of art."

So thoroughly was the entire landscape view of Palestine written upon this artist's own soul that he could reproduce it at will and without the slightest hesitation with an ordinary pencil or brush upon any wall or canvas large enough to receive it. Several churches in which he ministered contain copies from his own hand, and he executed a beautiful design in mammoth size for his own use in lecturing.

Several of our prominent Sunday-school assembly resorts also contain invaluable results in models of his Palestine reproduced. Island Park boasts the finest model of the Holy Land in the world, but Dr. Perrine made it at his home in Albion. Mr. Jewell S. Albright, superintendent of models for the park, says: "The model exhibits the painstaking accuracy of the scientist and the delicate taste of the artist. That Dr. Perrine was both scientist and artist this beautiful model abundantly proves. The student here finds every delineation of the detailed features of the Holy Land perfectly reliable. The traveler who comes to examine it is constantly delighted to find his recollections of the minutest observations in travel faithfully reproduced. It is constructed upon a horizontal scale of fifteen miles to the foot, and a vertical scale of one thousand feet to the inch. The material is plaster of Paris; it is colored to nature in dry color upon a sizing of glue."

Dr. Perrine executed several other creditable works of art. He attempted several copies from the old

masters. Just before his death he had planned for Island Park Assembly a large model building, so arranged as to contain eight models of Bible lands and cities. His model of Palestine was the beginning of this comprehensive apparatus. The second, the model of Jerusalem, was to have been executed the year of his death. The entire series were to be set, in a suitable building, upon railway tracks centering upon a turn-table, around which the spectators were to be seated as in an amphitheater. It was certainly a grand conception.

His enthusiasm in all art studies knew no bounds. His soul was thrilled with a sublime rapture as he studied the architecture, paintings, and sculpture of the Old World, and he had gone as far as his means would allow in the literature of the subject. His lecture upon "The Christian in Art" was a most grand and truthful presentation of his conceptions and views of the æsthetic in the past, present, and future of the Christian religion.

Under his masterly supervision the Art Department of Albion College, although lacking many of the facilities usually considered requisite in such a field, sprang into great usefulness and promise as an auxiliary to the institution designed to turn out thoroughly educated young men and women for greater efficiency in the various callings of life. His travels and studies in Europe enabled him to impart invaluable instruction, especially to those who could not themselves enjoy the privilege of extended travel supplementary to their collegiate course.

One says of him, however, that "as a teacher he lacked that consecutive attention to barren details which constitutes the perfection of the modern educational tread-mill. It was not uncommon for him to fire up with enthusiasm, and spend nearly the whole hour of recitation in general questions related to morals and to the grander achievements of mankind. But what was lacking in drill was more than compensated in the higher philosophic impulse which he communicated to his pupils, and in the moral principles which he instilled."

In 1871, after he had severed his connection with Albion College, that institution conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity, a distinction which he most worthily bore, and in conferring which the college did itself a high honor.

Intellectually Dr. Perrine had few peers in his profession. Added to his æsthetic taste, his fertile and strong imagination, were the noble traits of high aspirations and an indomitable will. "His religious character centered in an intense consciousness of God and firm loyalty to truth and duty. Prayer with him was intercourse with God, and its province embraced all his interests, temporal and spiritual. He had an implicit faith in the Gospel as an agency for the world's renovation, and to him its future mission embraced all human progress, and stretched far into the ages to come. To him all truth was divine truth, all science the science of God. He recognized a primitive divine impulse in all human achievement, and esteemed it his most exalted mission to incorporate divine truth with the

advancing tide of human progress. All his artistic studies and labors were a devout tribute to the Gospel of Christ."

Dr. Perrine was actively engaged in pastoral work when overtaken by his fatal illness. His latter appointments, in the vicinity of Albion, were given him in consequence of the long-continued illness of one of his daughters. She could not safely be moved from place to place, and so the devoted father continued his ministerial labors on less important charges that he might dwell with his family in his own home in Albion. Until within a week of his death, which occurred January 22, 1881, his health appeared to be as good as usual. Plenro-pneumonia suddenly snatched him away when but fifty-three years of age. His funeral from the Methodist Episcopal Church at Albion was attended by an immense throng of people. The services were, by special request of the deceased, in charge of Rev. Dr. L. R. Fiske, president of Albion College. About twenty-five of his clerical brethren of Michigan Conference were in attendance. He had expressed a desire to be borne to his rest by these partners of his toil and triumphs. At the residence prayer was offered by Dr. Fiske. The remains, which wore a calm, natural expression, were then conveyed to the church, where the services were introduced by the reading of 1 Cor. xv, 37-58, by Rev. T. H. Jacokes. The choir sang "Rock of Ages." Rev. H. Hall led in prayer. After the anthem, "Remember mercy, O God," President Fiske gave a brief biographical sketch of the deceased, and said :

“ Dr. Perrine has filled many of the most responsible appointments in the State, and given seven years of successful labor to Albion College, where he will be affectionately remembered. He took a deep interest in David Preston’s scheme for endowing the college, and contributed much to its success. In his death the cause of Christian education has lost one of its best friends. He went to Palestine, studying the land and its story, that he might better understand and teach the word of God. He was a member of the General Conference in 1872, 1876, and 1880, and was efficient. Among the strongest of his personal traits may be designated :

“ 1. Very positive convictions of truth, right, and duty.

“ 2. He never consulted expediency, and was not afraid to express his convictions.

“ 3. He was sanguine and enthusiastic. He believed with his whole heart, and threw his whole soul into what he believed.

“ 4. His heart and sympathies flowed out in his convictions. He had a large heart, and his intellectual earnestness did not dry up his sympathies.

“ 5. He was eminently religious, and we may say intellectually religious. He rested every thing upon the Bible and upon Christ. With him there was no chasm between nature and God. Religious exercises were his delight. His imaginative intellect, which clothed every thing with beauty, was quickened and irradiated by the Holy Spirit.”

Dr. Fiske closed by reading a few sentences from the

pen of Mrs. Perrine relating to her husband's last hours :

“Thursday morning, after lying several hours near death, as it seemed (although perfectly conscious), he said : ‘I have been looking into heaven. I seemed to be standing on the frontier of the universe. I wish I could tell you what I saw. On one side was heaven ; on the other the universe, shadowed, but across the shadows were beams of light.’ And he repeated passage after passage which he saw upon these beams, embodying the great truths of the Gospel. He exclaimed : ‘The door between heaven and me was very thin. But I think I shall live, and I shall be more earnest in my Master’s work. Nothing pays except what we do for the Lord. It is a great thing to enter heaven.’

“Saturday morning, when he found himself again sinking, he dictated in perfect composure messages to absent friends, and gave his last words of counsel and love to his wife and daughters. He then said : ‘I have no unkind feelings toward any of my brethren of the Conference, toward any of the bishops, or editors, or official brethren of the Church.’ When asked if there was any darkness, his face lighting up with holy joy, he said with great emphasis : ‘*O, no! I have a right to heaven!*’ Then he added : ‘I am the vilest of sinners, and in myself have no right; but in the merit and grace of Christ I have a right to eternal life.’”

Rev. John Graham followed with a few earnest words expressive of his high admiration for Dr. Perrine’s

character, saying that he would cherish his memory as a friend of young men.

Rev. Isaac Taylor felt that, like Elijah, Dr. Perrine had gone to heaven suddenly, leaving his mantle to fall upon younger ministers whom he loved so ardently and served so well. He was no ordinary man. If his acquirements, labors, and influence were estimated as representing the breadth of a life, he had lived long and accomplished much.

Rev. George S. Hickey pronounced a beautiful and impressive eulogy, in the course of which he said: "We do not deny that there is a mystery about this death—as there is about every death. Our minds and hearts are now shadowed as we ask, Why was one endowed with such natural and acquired gifts cut down so suddenly in the midst of his years, and under such circumstances of acute pain and agony? Had it been left for us to decide we would have said that we could not yet spare him—his genius, talent, culture, and ardent zeal for God. Dr. Perrine was cultured without affectation; scholarly, but spiritual. He was a man that abhorred the very appearance of evil, and cleaved to that which is good. His was a pure spirit. His speech was always with grace, and dignified. He was a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. His heroic spirit would have dared to die for the truth. He was a man of positive views and intense convictions, and he had moral courage and stamina. He stood firmly on the adamantine rock of his own clear convictions, against which the turbulent waves of human opinion might dash harmlessly, and foam and break and retire. He was bold,

aggressive, persistent, radical. He had opinions of his own, and dared to utter them in the face of opposition, but cherished the kindest feeling toward his opponents. He was in a fair way to 'bring things to pass,' which was Bishop Ames's idea of a great man."

Memorial services were held in honor of Dr. Perrine in several localities throughout Michigan, and many warmly appreciative allusions were made to his character and life in both the secular and religious press.

The *Lansing Journal*, edited by Hon. George P. Sanford, contained a full column of eulogistic matter, of which the following is an extract: "Dr. Perrine was one of the most widely known and most dearly beloved clergymen in Michigan. His genial and generous nature made him the trusted friend of all who knew him at all intimately. He was a man endowed by nature with varied and unusual abilities. His native powers had been stimulated and cultivated by thorough education, extended culture, and profound thought. An alert mind, a vivid imagination, a tender yet strong sensibility, and a ready and copious command of clear, strong, and beautiful language made him one of the most eloquent orators of the country. His was a most rare combination of mental powers. His mind was not less massive and strong than brilliant and sentimental. A truly eloquent man, he was also exceptionally able in debate, and invincible in argument. He forged the chain of logic with invincible links of steel in the same paragraph in which he showered the flowers of rhetoric

and the gems of impassioned eloquence thick as leaves of Vallombrosa. A vivid fancy, strong logical powers, clear and forcible statement, broad and powerful grasp of thought, varied and accurate learning, and profound philosophy made him one of the most thoroughly equipped men of his time."

A guiding principle of his life was never to seek and never to shun responsibility. When a responsibility came to him spontaneously he made thorough preparation for the discharge of the trust.

When first elected by the Michigan Conference a member of the Board of Trustees of North-western University, at Evanstown, in 1856 or '57, in view of his inexperience in this line of work he thought the most suitable thing for him to do was to make as thorough a study as possible of the subject of university endowments.

In doing this he found that some of the richest universities of the Old World were originally endowed with large grants of land of moderate value, which they held and rented, and which, finally, by their great increase in value, yielded immense revenues.

At the first meeting of the board which Mr. Perrine attended he learned that the North-western University lands had just been thrown upon the market, and at once persuaded a member of the board who had voted for the motion to sell to move its reconsideration. He then gave the board the results of his studies in university endowments, urging the withdrawal of the lands from market.

This was done, and the lands were leased for a long

term of years, with the stipulation that at the end of every five years they should be subject to revaluation, and to a consequent advance in rent.


Mr. Perrine, who received at the time warm expressions of approval from members of the board for his work, always remembered it with satisfaction, believing that he had thereby served the interests of the university.

Dr. Perrine is best remembered by his work in the General Conference. He early interested himself in the question of lay representation, studied the subject in all its bearings, and being so radical an American in all his sentiments and sympathies he determined to contend for a plan of lay delegation which would harmonize with American ideas of government, and at the same time conform to the teachings of the word of God. His penetrating mind clearly perceived the character of the struggle before him. He earnestly believed that in order to be perfectly effective the lay element must be extricated from that clerical domination which has been the very genius of Methodism, and he well knew that such extrication would cost him or somebody else an herculean effort, liability to failure, and the certainty of being misjudged, and perhaps denounced and overthrown. Yet he hesitated not. Duty first; self-interest afterward.

"At first," says Dr. Arnold, "his 'plan' for a separate house for the laity received a stern repulse, and subjected him to a pitiless storm of ridicule. But he never faltered, and the Michigan Conference honored itself more than can yet be estimated by returning

him twice to the arena of conflict. His plan is now the property of the Church, and the outcome of the last General Conference (that of 1880) riveted the conviction that if the laymen cannot rise to legislative independence and sense of responsibility in a higher degree than at present, lay delegation is utterly futile."

We shall trace the history of the lay delegation movement more at length in a succeeding chapter; but we wish here to note the progress of Dr. Perrine's ideas during the twelve years of his active participation in General Conference deliberations and the accompanying debates of the Church.

In 1872, on the motion in the General Conference which proved the first signal test of the sentiment of that body as to the expediency of two separate, distinct, and concurrent houses, Dr. Perrine stood absolutely alone. His solitary "Nay" rang out full and clear in that Conference room, and we find in his copy of the General Conference Journal for that year a leaf turned at the page where the vote is recorded, and a hand () drawn in ink by himself pointing to the fadeless record of his immortal No!

Similarly, in 1876, on the twenty-fourth day of the session, when he offered a substitute for so much of the report on lay delegation as related to the election of laymen, providing for the division of the General Conference into a "Clerical Senate and a House of Lay Representatives," he has marked the result of the vote in a way to be remembered. But he stood not alone now. Many of the noblest minds in that body entertained

His opinions and were prepared to embody them in their ballots. On the motion to lay his substitute on the table the vote stood 197 for to 90 against. This was an encouraging advance, from *one* to *ninety* in four years. When a leading delegate afterward remarked to him, "Of course, Perrine, you are right, but I tell them you are the wretchedest leader under the heavens," Dr. Perrine replied :

"Doctor, how many supporters had I in Brooklyn in 1872, when you and the whole Church stood against me? I am happy to note at least one respectable retainer. Hereafter I will see that *you* are respectably led."

In 1880 the question came up again, Dr. Perrine leading among its advocates. The plan which he submitted is published elsewhere in this volume, and he had the satisfaction of seeing a very able committee report in favor of the proposed division, and of hearing his views advocated by many. The motion to adopt resulted as follows: Yeas, 110; nays, 211. The advancing popularity of his views will be noted.

In this connection we may fittingly append Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley's notice of Dr. Perrine and his work, as it appeared in the editorial columns of the *New York Christian Advocate*, February 24, 1881. After deploing the suddenness of Dr. Perrine's departure the editor said:

"We knew Dr. Perrine and highly respected him; nor did we conceal that respect until his death. It has been our deliberate judgment, often expressed for more than fifteen years, that his intellectual powers and acquisi-

tions were greater than those of most professional men—far greater than were possessed by many who regarded him as much inferior to themselves. During a residence in Detroit, from 1863 to 1866, we met him frequently, and soon discovered that he had views upon almost every subject, and was able to defend them by forcible argument and a wide range of facts. A susceptibility, a tendency to rhapsody, appeared in his nature, which, fully as much as his abilities and acquirements, rendered him a marked character among his brethren. Whatever theme occupied him absorbed him, and he felt that it transcended all others. Gradually overcoming the prejudice against him as an unpractical man, he appeared at the General Conference of 1872 profoundly impressed that the Church was about to commit a great error in confounding the functions of the ministry and laity. Dr. Perrine's persistency led strangers to entertain erroneous views of his spirit and abilities. That they might have an opportunity to see him in another aspect, we secured him an invitation to preach in an important church. The discourse was not surpassed by any delivered during the session. At Baltimore he made another effort for a hearing, with similar results. That he might speak at length, he began before the rules of order were adopted, claiming that he could not be prevented from speaking as long as he pleased. In this view he was right, but was suppressed by an arbitrary assumption of power on the part of the presiding officer. Against this a protest was made. It is due to the chairman to say that he defended himself on the following grounds:

‘Though no rules had been adopted, the bishops are charged with the supervision of the interests of the Church; the General Conference has traditions; it was a critical occasion. It was obvious that the whole Conference desired to proceed to business, and it should not be reduced to chaos by a technicality. An appeal might have been taken, but was not. My motive was not to oppress, but to facilitate the business of organization.’ Notwithstanding this rebuff he grew, in the meetings of the committees, in esteem at every session, and was welcomed in 1880 by all the former members.

“Dr. Perrine would have attained the greatest influence if he had mastered the science of debate in its relations to the impatience of a large deliberative body; if he could have known when to strike and how. He had the oratorical temperament in excess, and sometimes became excited before his audience were as fully aroused to the importance of his theme as he was himself. He could also be overheated by his own rhetoric. If these peculiarities had not impeded his efforts, no man in the Church would have surpassed him in power to effect his ends. At home he was respected and loved.

“Let not his career in the General Conferences of which he was a member be considered a failure. His fundamental doctrine of the radical distinction between the ministry and the laity is held to-day by many of the wisest men in the Church, who, while they approve lay representation, greatly desire to see the relations of the orders more clearly defined. . . . He was enthusi-

astic in every thing—in theology, literature, natural science, art, and the theory of government. He was remarkable enough to make obvious his defects, and these showed that, without them, he would have been great. His death removes an interesting figure from the Church, a genial friend from a large circle, and a devout minister from his work.”

CHAPTER II.

THE LAY DELEGATION MOVEMENT.

EVENTFUL indeed is the history of lay delegation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. "Originally, and for many years, the Church was governed by the traveling ministers, through Annual Conferences and a delegated General Conference. Early in this century symptoms of a desire for a change in the form of government appeared. About 1822 the *Wesleyan Repository*, a paper advocating reform (as it was then called), was established in Philadelphia. This was followed by a convention of 'reformers' in Baltimore in 1824, who established as their periodical organ in that city *The Mutual Rights*. The objects of attack were the episcopacy and the clerical government of the Church. In 1827 Dr. Thomas E. Bond issued an appeal to Methodists against lay delegation, which exerted a great influence in determining the maintenance of the existing system. At the General Conference of 1828 the subject was discussed in the celebrated 'Report on Petitions and Memorials,' which denied the claims of the petitioners. This report was unanimously adopted. By this time Church proceedings had been instituted against some of the 'reform party' in Baltimore, which resulted in expulsion. Others withdrew, and in 1830 the constitution of the 'Methodist Protestant Church' was formed. The controversy was

accompanied and followed with great bitterness on both sides. Looked at from this distance of time, it is apparent that both parties numbered among their leaders good and strong men, who unfortunately stood upon extreme and irreconcilable propositions. The 'reformers' claimed the admission of the laity to the General Conference on the ground of the right of the people to share in ecclesiastical legislation. This claim was denied by the conservative side, chiefly on the ground that the General Conference possessed 'no strictly legislative powers.'

"The discussion rested, after the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church, for more than twenty years. Shortly before the General Conference of 1852 a convention of laymen was held in Philadelphia to take measures for bringing the subject before the Church once more. This convention, however, disclaimed all connection with the principles of the reformers of 1828, and asked for lay representation on the ground of expediency solely. Dr. Thomas E. Bond, the great antagonist of the 'radicals,' met the members of the committee in the most friendly spirit, and conceded to them that lay delegation put on the ground of expediency was an open question. While still denying the claim of right he went so far as to suggest a plan of lay co-operation in the Annual Conferences. The petition of the convention to the General Conference was denied. In the General Conference of 1856 an appeal for lay delegation was presented again, but received very little attention. By 1860 such progress had been made that the General Conference, assembled in that year, referred the measure to a popular

and ministerial vote, to be taken in 1861 and 1862. Both votes were adverse to lay representation; but the vote, though adverse, developed the fact of a growing favor for this important measure. *The Methodist*, which was established in 1860, devoted itself to the advocacy of it; other papers, especially the *Zion's Herald* and the *North-western Christian Advocate*, urged it upon the Church. A largely attended convention of laymen was held in New York in the spring of 1863. At this meeting it was resolved to hold another convention, concurrently with the session of the General Conference at Philadelphia, in 1864. The convention was so held, and presented through a deputation of its delegates a memorial to the General Conference, though without immediate result. A third convention was held, concurrently with the session of the General Conference at Chicago, in 1868. At this Conference a popular and ministerial vote was ordered for the second time.”*

It must not be inferred, however, that for some years prior to 1868 the laymen throughout the Church were in favor of lay representation, while the ministers were opposed. The lay conventions at Philadelphia and Chicago did not represent the sentiments of all their brethren. For instance, a large number of laymen from different States who were present at the General Conference in Chicago presented to that body a lengthy and earnest memorial, in which they entered formal dissent from the statement of facts presented to the Conference by the laymen's convention, and pro-

* G. R. C. in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia*.

tested against its assumptions and recommendations. They represented that their most careful examination of the subjects had brought them to the conclusion that the Conferences had most emphatically pronounced against lay representation until it should be fully ascertained that the Church at large desired it, and that hitherto the Church had manifested no such desire. On the contrary, eight years before, the Church had, by a formal vote of the entire laity, emphatically disapproved of the proposed innovation. In justification of their sentiments and positions they further said:

“Our form of Church polity, tested by an experience of a hundred years, has demonstrated its efficiency as an agency for both evangelical propagandism and Christian culture. A system so eminently productive of fruits ought certainly not to be subverted for light causes.

“Our centenary celebration brought to our view the efficiency of the system in its first workings, and also demonstrated the faith and confidence of our people in its future. Is it wise to trifle with that confidence?

“As our Church is now governed there is a most happy separation of the spiritual and secular offices of the body. The ministry, as the servants of the Head of the Church, are at the head of the spiritual offices, while the laity hold and manage all the Church property, the ministry having no legal claims even for their own subsistence. If the laity are called upon to trust the ministry in the administration of spiritual affairs, so the ministry is compelled to trust the laity in secular and pecuniary offices. A mutual confidence is

thus called for, and hitherto it has been fully given by both parties. We believe it altogether safe to exercise it still further. . . . We attribute a large share of the efficiency and greatness of our Church, under God, to its peculiar form of government, and shall dread to see it made to conform to other and less successful ecclesiastical systems."

But the petition of these conservative laymen was of no avail. The popular and ministerial vote upon the question was ordered by the General Conference, and the war was on.

Following is the text of the plan submitted, as taken from the General Conference Journal:

"The lay delegates shall consist of two laymen for each Annual Conference, except such Conferences as have but one ministerial delegate, which Conferences shall be entitled to one lay delegate each.

"The lay delegates shall be chosen by an electoral conference of laymen, which shall assemble for the purpose on the third day of the session of the Annual Conference, at the place of its meeting, at its session immediately preceding the General Conference.

"The electoral conference shall be composed of one layman from each circuit or station within the bounds of the Annual Conference, and on assembling the electoral conference shall organize by electing a chairman and secretary of their own number; such laymen to be chosen by the last Quarterly Conference preceding the time of its assembling; provided, that no layman shall be chosen a delegate either to the electoral conference or to the General Conference who shall be

under twenty-five years of age, or who shall not have been a member of the Church in full connection for the five consecutive years preceding the elections.

“Alter Answer 3 as follows, page 46:

“Answer 3. At all times when the General Conference is met it shall take two thirds of the whole number of ministerial and lay delegates to form a quorum for transacting business.

“The ministerial and lay delegates shall sit and deliberate together as one body, but they shall vote separately whenever such separate vote shall be demanded by one third of either order, and in such cases the concurrent vote of both orders shall be necessary to complete an action.”

From the foregoing it will be remembered:

1. That the electoral conferences were to choose the lay delegates.

2. That the electoral conferences were to be composed of one layman from each circuit or station.

3. That the delegates to each electoral conference were to be elected by the quarterly conferences.

4. That each lay delegate must be not less than twenty-five years old, and a member of the Church for not less than five years preceding election.

5. That the ministerial and lay delegates were to deliberate together in the General Conference.

6. That a separate vote could not be had except on a formal demand of one third of either order.

7. That the quorum for the transaction of business was to consist of two thirds of the whole number of ministerial and lay delegates.

Against the foregoing "plan" of lay delegation Dr. Perrine, with many others, threw himself with all his might. He did not oppose the principle of lay delegation, but rather favored it; it was the *plan* he considered unscriptural, un-Methodistic, and wholly obnoxious. This "plan," he claimed, was wholly separate from the *principle*, and that the formal approval of the latter by popular and ministerial vote was not of necessity an approval of the former. Distinguished opinions favored this view. At the New Hampshire Conference held at Nashua, April, 1870, Rev. Dr. L. D. Barrows asked for information as to what the Conference was to vote for. "Does our vote," he inquired, "include the adoption of the plan of the General Conference, or simply the amendment of the second restrictive rule, so as to allow the General Conference to introduce a moderate lay delegation?"

Rev. J. Pike said he considered it to be the latter, and moved that the Conference respectfully request the bishop to give his views upon the question.

The motion unanimously prevailed, and in compliance therewith Bishop Simpson said that while he would not, in the chair, express any opinion on the merits of the question, yet on the legal point involved his opinion was that the vote of the Conference was *not to be on the plan*, but simply and alone on the alteration of the restrictive rule. He said: "It was admitted by all that the last General Conference had not *enacted* any plan, but only *proposed* it, and that the last General Conference had no power to bind the next." He said further: "If three fourths of the members of the Annual Con-

ferences should vote for the alteration of the rule it could not be accomplished until two thirds of the ensuing General Conference should concur ; that no part of the plan submitted could go into effect, except the election of the two lay delegates as prescribed, before the next General Conference. That before their admission into General Conference not only must the rule be altered, but a plan for their introduction and duties must be enacted, then a vote must be had on their formal admission."

Bishop Baker, who was present, was announced as concurring in this decision. The Conference cast its ballot in the light of said decision, the vote standing yeas 68, nays 25.

The *Methodist* of April 16, and *Zion's Herald* of April 14, same year, said : " Bishop Janes, before the New York Conference, declared that the vote of the Conference did not touch the plan, but only gave the General Conference power to admit laymen to its body." *Zion's Herald* of May 5 said : " The *plan* will be in the hands of the next General Conference, to alter and amend at pleasure. Such is the opinion of Bishop Janes, for he is quoted as saying, ' In my opinion it will not require a constitutional vote to *alter the details* of the plan, as they will *not* be included in the restrictive rule.' No small debate will spring up on the plan as soon as it is settled that lay delegates can be admitted. In fact, the last General Conference, in declining to act on the plan and sending it out with a two third vote for the concurrence of the Annual Conferences, undoubtedly intended to keep any modifi-

cations of the plan in its own future power. These modifications can include every thing except the number of the lay delegates. There will not, probably, be any great change from the plan proposed, yet there may be some clearer distinctions of non-interference by the laity in purely ministerial questions, such as appeals."

Dr. Perrine was careful to get his views also before the Church. After the vote had been taken which indicated that the *principle* of lay delegation had been indorsed by the people and preachers, he wrote a letter to the New York *Advocate* (March 28, 1872), in which he argued very forcibly, by an examination of the figures of the vote, that the "plan" for lay representation had not been indorsed, and further, that it had never been voted upon. He then said :

"The substantial justness of Bishop Simpson's decision before the New Hampshire Conference will be evidenced, we think, in the light of the following brief analysis of the report of the last General Conference Committee on Lay Delegation. That report consists of a preamble and three resolutions.

"The first resolution of the report contains simply a recommendation of a 'plan to the *godly consideration* of our ministers and people.' It is not a *requisition* even to *consider* the plan, much less a *requisition* to vote upon it. All the peculiar features of *this plan* are specified in the *changes proposed* in the first and third answers to the question, 'Who shall compose the General Conference, and what are the regulations and powers belonging to it?' and are all embodied in this first resolution.

"The second resolution of the report contains two distinct and unconditional *requisitions* :

"1. 'That during the month of June, 1869, . . . there shall be held a general election . . . at which all members of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . shall be invited to vote by ballot (*not* for the *plan*) for lay delegation or against lay delegation.'

"2. 'It shall be the duty of the bishops presiding at the several Annual Conferences . . . to lay before those bodies (not 'the plan,' but) the following proposed amendments to the second restrictive rule.' "

The third resolution is simply a reiteration of a fundamental provision of the constitution, and neither adds to nor subtracts from the powers of the General Conference in the case.

"3. But whether Bishop Simpson was right or wrong in his interpretation this *fact* is undisturbed : So *odious* was the plan to most parties, for various and conflicting reasons, that *lay delegation was carried only on the basis of this interpretation*. Can we in honor disregard the *implied pledge* to every Conference before whom these declarations were made that *first 'a plan for their introduction and duties must be enacted, and then a vote must be had on their formal admission'* before the delegates previously elected could be admitted within the bar of the Conference. Shall courtesy supplant honor? "

Dr. Curry, the then editor of the *Christian Advocate*, commenting on Dr. Perrine's article, said :

"The 'plan' was simply recommended to the *con-*

sideration of ministers and people. Conceding the necessity of changing the second restrictive rule before lay delegates could be admitted to the General Conference, it was directed that the question of such a change should be submitted to the several Annual Conferences. This has been done, and it is the only thing so far performed of which the law of the Church can, at the present stage of the business, take any cognizance. The whole process of securing the appointment of provisional lay delegates is quite outside of the proper law of the Church. The delegates elected by the lay electoral conferences are only provisional, and only when it shall be conceded to them by a regular and legal process can they have any status in the General Conference."

Rev. Dr. J. M. Reid, editor of the *North-western Christian Advocate*, also commented on Dr. Perrine's article, and expressed agreement with him on the following points :

"1. The *people* voted only on the principle, and not on the *plan*. Their ballots were 'for lay delegation' and 'against lay delegation.'

"2. The ministers did not vote on the *plan*, but solely on the alteration of the restrictive rule. Nothing else was ever submitted to the Conferences by the bishops. They were not authorized to present any thing else."

Dr. Perrine's views on the proper organization of the General Conference under the new regimen were further expressed in an article published subsequent to the above. He said :

“Will you permit me to speak for myself? The following may indicate my position:

“1. The last General Conference enacted no plan, not even provisionally. (See foregoing Analysis.)

“2. It did not recommend the enactment of any plan by any party, people, Annual or General Conferences. It simply ‘recommended’ a ‘plan to the godly consideration of our ministers and people.’

“3. Marvelous as it may seem, the last General Conference did not even condition the election of lay delegates on the favorable action of the Annual Conferences, as it had the clearest constitutional right to do. (See Discipline, pp. 50, 51.) It simply ‘recommended’ such a method of appointment to the ‘godly consideration’ of the Church. Dr. Curry very justly says, ‘The whole process of securing the appointment of provisional lay delegates is quite outside the proper law of the Church.’ This very remarkable feature of the Report on Lay Delegation was either designed or it was not. If designed, it was evidently intended to give the ensuing General Conference the largest possible liberty in the case. If not designed, it was an oversight adequately illustrating the peculiar merits of that very peculiar style of legislation which drafts overnight a radical measure involving the constituent existence and functions of the legislative body itself, and drives it through next morning under the whip of the ‘previous question’—not quite apostolical or Wesleyan.

“4. The General Conference of 1868 did, however, morally and legally, condition the action of that of 1872. But, the condition being upon the indorsement

of the principle, not of the plan, by the people ('for or against lay delegation'), and upon the three fourths vote of the Annual Conferences for or against 'the change of the restrictive rule'—not for or against the plan—the coming General Conference is not under the slightest possible obligation, legal or moral, in view of the past action of any party, to enact the plan simply 'recommended to godly consideration,' unless upon mature deliberation it shall be found in their godly judgment to be the best possible plan—the most compatible with those 'general and fundamental principles of church government' which all our fathers believed 'were laid down in the Scriptures;' the best adapted to give strength and cogency to the divinely appointed ministry in the fulfillment of its great commission; the best adapted to give us the experienced and peculiarly developed powers of our gifted and devout laity in fullest and freest energy for the urgent service of the Church.

"5. The approaching General Conference is morally and legally bound to enact some plan for 'the admission and duties' of lay delegates whom it may deem morally entitled to seats in that body. In view of the favorable vote of the people for the principle, and of the three fourths vote of the Annual Conferences favoring the change of the restrictive rule, we believe the legal 'can' complete the change of the third resolution of the report is a moral ought; the legal 'may' be admitted is a moral must. I most religiously believe that the voice of God in his providence and in his word, the voice of the people and of the ministry, all unite to call

our able and consecrated laity into the legislative councils of the Church, but with other functions than to bar the action of the ministry especially called of God and elected by the people to the spiritual supervision of the Church of God. Ordered by the inspired apostles particularly to the department of secularities (Acts vi), our laymen 'of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom,' should be there to assist especially in the administration of finance, in the management of our great educational and publishing funds, thus so relieving the ministry that they may give themselves the more continually to things pertaining 'to the ministry of the word.' The inspired men of the first century saw clearly and declared the truth: 'It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables.'

"6. This legal and moral 'ought' and 'must' in the 'can complete the change' and 'may be admitted' evidently rests upon the same party. The party that admits the laymen 'completes the change,' and this party is the ministerial body—the legal General Conference; and on them alone we believe the word of God, the constitution of the Church, and the action of the last General Conference concur in laying the grave responsibility of enacting the status of the future General Conference.

"7. The clause 'can complete the change' implies the change of the chapter; or, in other words, the enactment of a plan as the condition to the admission of 'lay delegates previously elected.'

"(1.) All must admit that the lay delegates cannot enter the General Conference until its constitution,

which from the beginning has enumerated the 'regulations and powers' of clerical delegates alone, is changed.

"(2.) All must admit that the constitution of the General Conference is alone set forth in the answers to the question, 'Who shall compose the General Conference, and what are the regulations and powers belonging to it?'

"(3.) All must admit that the proposed 'change of the constitution' of the General Conference must consist in the change of the first and third of these answers—and that this change of the constitution can only be reached by the change of the second restrictive rule

"(4.) All must also admit that this change of the second restrictive rule either covers all the proposed changes in the answers first and third, or that it does not.

"If it does, then this 'above constitutional change' is 'compelled'—then, the whole plan is enacted the instant the General Conference by a two thirds vote shall have changed the second restrictive rule! But this supposition is preposterous, and is antagonized by the position of all parties. If, on the other hand, it be admitted that the second restrictive rule does not cover all the proposed changes in the answers first and third, then the 'change' is not 'completed'—then the express condition for the admission of 'the lay delegates previously elected' is not met. Then lay delegates cannot enter until a plan for their introduction and duties is enacted.

"For those who care less for invincible logic than for

parliamentary decorum, we have the following *ad captandum*: Imagine our lay delegates insisting on instant admission into a body constitutionally clerical from the beginning, that they 'may assist in making a plan;' in other words, changing the constitution of that body. With what becoming grace could one of these delegates, already in the body, rise and move the change of the first answer in the plan—'The General Conference shall be composed of ministerial and lay delegates!' or the ministerial and lay delegates, already sitting together, move that 'the ministerial and lay delegates shall sit and deliberate together!' The thought is so preposterous that we very much doubt that any layman with sense and dignity sufficient to constitute an efficient legislator in the Church could possibly be induced to consent to occupy for an instant a position so anomalous, not to say ineffably ridiculous. Our estimate of the thorough good sense of our 'provisional lay delegates' was altogether too high to have admitted even the thought of such a contingency, until we saw it gravely suggested as the very thing to be done!

"Bishop Simpson's position is an impregnable one. 'Before their (the lay delegates) admission into General Conference, not only must the rule be altered, but a plan for their introduction and duties must be enacted; then a vote must be had on their formal admission.'

"8. For those who, with *The Methodist*, think that 'A departure from the plan after its recommendation (?) by the General Conference of 1868, and its acceptance (?) by the Church, would seem to the laity to be a

breach of faith,' we wish briefly to restate the case :
1. The General Conference never 'recommended' a plan—except for 'godly consideration.' 2. Although not 'before the people' or 'before the preachers' for their votes, the plan was before the people and the Conferences for 'godly consideration,' and the Michigan Conference so regarded it, and 'simply so declared for the satisfaction of all parties,' for 'in proceeding to vote on the change of the restrictive rule,' so says the report unanimously adopted by that body, 'the Michigan Annual Conference puts on record the following declarations :

"(1.) 'The vote we cast is solely upon the change of the restrictive rule.

"(2.) 'We do not indorse the plan proposed by the General Conference for our consideration.

"(3.) * * *

"(4.) 'We declare ourselves not only not opposed to, but in favor of, a scheme of lay delegation which shall not interfere with the divinely designated authority of the Christian ministry.' Implying, as strongly as language can imply any thing, that, though voting for the principle of lay delegation in the change of the restrictive rule, they did unanimously declare themselves opposed to the plan, for the strongest of all possible reasons, that it interfered 'with the divinely designated authority of the Christian ministry.' They could not more utterly have 'condemned' the plan. They could not more effectually have disposed of all such intimations of its 'acceptance by the Church!!!' For the ninety-four 'aye' votes of the Michigan Conference

cast for the change of the restrictive rule must be deducted from the column supposed to favor the plan; and as the constitutional majority claimed was but forty-four, this deduction of 'ninety-four' votes will demonstrate that the plan could not have carried in any sense by fifty ministerial votes. And so generally odious was the plan that it was only possible, barely possible, to carry lay delegation through the Annual Conferences by such an interpretation as should leave the General Conference with the largest possible liberty to follow their godly judgments in the construction of the plan.

"9. We most sincerely believe that a better thing by far can be done for the laity in the possible plan :

"(1.) We may make the laity in the future, in *reality*, not in name, the representatives of the people; not of a mere handful of the laity—the quarterly conference—which too often may be, as it is said, 'the mere creature of the preacher.' The fact is that the *so-called* 'lay representatives,' so far as the methods of appointment are concerned, no more represent the people than does every clerical delegate originally elected by the same quarterly conference to a conference electoral once in four years to the General Conference! Let us widen the electoral basis of the possible plan, and make every adult member of the Church an elector, with a voice in the choice of their representatives.

"(2.) Let the lay representative basis also be widened. Why should the Methodist Church, for illustration, in Michigan, with its sixty thousand members, be represented by only four laymen, while its four hundred

and fifty preachers are represented by thirteen clerical delegates? Another vote of the Annual Conferences should admit at least an equal number of the laity and clergy to the legislative councils of the Church from within the same bounds.

“(3.) If thought expedient, lay delegates from every charge might be admitted to the Annual Conferences, which are simply executive bodies, and share in the election of their clerical or spiritual rulers, as in the apostolical and primitive churches—a fundamental right which Methodism has always theoretically acknowledged. Our clerical delegates, called of God and elected by the people, would then become, as in the apostolic times, the ‘messengers of the churches and the glory of Christ.’ By giving thus to the entire adult laity of the Church voice in the primary ‘recommendations’ or elections to the Annual Conferences of both clerical and lay delegates, and to the clerical and lay delegates together in the Annual Conferences voice in the election of all delegates to the General Conference, and in the General Conference joint action in the election of all our bishops, we shall thus be prepared for the easy adjustment of a plan which, while it shall secure to the laity the fullest representation in every branch of the General Conference, shall at the same time save ‘the divinely designated authority of the Christian ministry,’ and preserve in every essential feature the constitution and polity of Methodism intact. The plan may be simply this: The organization of the General Conference in three concurrent houses or departments—the House of Bishops, of Presbyters, and

of the Laity ; the concurrence of two houses at least being necessary to complete an action.

“ 10. If it is urged that ‘ this will cause unnecessary delay,’ we will simply say that it will secure that ‘ necessary delay’ which, in the judgment of all modern founders of free States, is the great desideratum in legislation—to be best secured by the division of the legislative body at least into two branches.

“ And in proof of the demand for delay in Methodist legislation, we simply point to the appropriate monument of May 29, 1868—to a confused mass of ‘ interpretations of the plan,’ heaped not quite to heaven, and capped with this fact—that lay delegation has providentially carried, despite the very condition on which in the impetuous rush of that most remarkable day the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church suspended it ; for, as we have demonstrated, the ‘ above proposed change in the constitution of the Church’ refers not only to the change of the restrictive rule which was submitted to vote of the Annual Conferences, but especially to the answers of the question, ‘ Who shall compose the General Conference, and what are the regulations and powers belonging to it?’ which all agree was never submitted to the vote of either preacher or people ! The stable provision of the constitution alone—not the ‘ third resolution’ of a popular tempest—saved the cause.

“ 11. For the benefit of those who may be meditating the inauguration of a similar *furor* for the enactment of that same plan, we beg leave to quote the words of one of the founders of the Republic, written

at the time the Constitution of the United States was before the States for their adoption or rejection :

“ ‘ It is a misfortune,’ says James Madison, ‘ inseparable from human affairs that public measures are rarely investigated with that spirit of moderation which is essential to a just estimate of their real tendency to advance or obstruct the public good, and that this spirit is more apt to be diminished than promoted by those very occasions which require an unusual exercise of it.’ *

“ The fathers of the Republic were men fully conscious of the dignity of their mission. They gave time, study, and devotion to their great work. And as the result not only of their wise distribution of the various powers of government, but especially by the division of the legislative department into two houses, with their admirable adjustments, they have given us in our national and State Legislatures the model deliberative assemblies of the world. As the radical tide is just now setting with fearful power in upon the Church, threatening to sweep away every landmark of the polity of our fathers, how imperative it is that the coming General Conference, ‘ whom God hath so strangely set free’ from the plan, should build up for our safety against all the perils of the future the dikes of a great and efficient system—one that shall combine freedom with power ; that shall at the same time inspire the whole body of the laity with zeal and add momentum to the most energetic of ministries. The time is not distant when, doubtless, there shall come before this great legislative body of Methodism interests of far

* *Federalist*, p. 282.

greater moment than have ever agitated the political congresses and parliaments of the nations. Methodism is to take the world for Jesus. The *Western* says: 'The occasion is grand—the work is momentous.' We believe it. All other business of the coming session—Book Concern, colored bishops, the 'woman question,' etc., etc.—all dwindle into utter insignificance before this stupendous work of organization, that, like another Mont Blanc, may lift its summit into the clear light of the centuries to come. W. H. PERRINE."

Bishop Ames entertained similar views respecting the proposed "plan." The *North-western Christian Advocate* obtained and published from Dr. E. O. Haven, chairman of the General Conference committee on the subject, a proposition made to the committee by Bishop Ames, in writing, which he recommended as a suitable plan to be adopted. The discussion had then proceeded so far that it was not deemed advisable by the committee to change this report, and the report of the "committee of conference" on the subject effectually prevented this plan proposed by Bishop Ames from coming before the General Conference. "We greatly regretted at the time," says the *North-western*, "that the General Conference did not take time to weigh this proposition of one of the wisest of our chief pastors. It had, to many minds, some startling aspects. It was a proposition to give concurrent powers to a house of lay delegates in making all our rules and regulations, and in all elections, except only such as relate to ministerial administration and character. This change was

to be made at once, and without a change of general rule."

The plan, in detail, was to add to Chapter I, on the "Government of the Church," another section, as follows. We now quote from Bishop Ames :

"SECTION II.

"OF THE HOUSE OF LAY DELEGATES.

"*Question* 1. Who shall compose the house of lay delegates? and what are the regulations and powers belonging to it?

"*Answer* 1. The house of lay delegates shall be composed of so many stewards from within the bounds of each Annual Conference as the conference has ministerial delegates to the General Conference; yet so that the delegates thus chosen shall have filled the office of steward at least four full calendar years.

"*Ans.* 2. The house of lay delegates shall meet on the first day of May, 1872, and thenceforward on the first day of May, once in four years perpetually, in such places as shall be fixed only by the concurrent vote of the house of lay delegates and of the General Conference.

"*Ans.* 3. At all times when the house of lay delegates is met, it shall take two thirds to form a quorum for the transaction of business.

"*Ans.* 4. One of the general superintendents shall preside.

"*Ans.* 5. The house of lay delegates shall have concurrent authority in making rules and regulations for our Church, and in the election of bishops, and of all

officers to be chosen; and in all other matters except such as relate to ministerial administration and character. Measures may be originated either in the house of lay delegates or in the General Conference.

“*Question 2.* How shall the lay delegates be chosen?”

“*Answer 1.* There shall be a quadrennial conference, composed of one steward from each pastoral charge, to be chosen by the third quarterly conference of the year preceding the session of the General Conference. The members of the quadrennial conference thus chosen shall fix the time and place of their meeting, and when organized shall proceed to elect, by ballot, from among the members of their own body, as many delegates to the house of lay delegates as the Annual Conference is entitled to have in the General Conference. The quadrennial conferences shall provide for the expenses of the house of lay delegates.”

A great many other “plans” were submitted and discussed in the newspapers of the period, all tending to show that the ministers and laymen generally did not especially favor the particular plan proposed, nor think that the General Conference of 1872 was under the slightest obligation to adopt it. But it had its sworn friends, as the sequel will show.

On the first day of the General Conference of 1872, after the organization of the conference had been effected, Bishop Janes stated that the bishops were ready to report the vote of the several conferences on the change of the second restrictive rule, providing for the introduction of lay delegates into the General Con-

ference; whereupon, at the request of the conference, Bishop Simpson presented the following:

“DEAR BRETHREN: The last General Conference devised a plan for lay delegation, which they recommended to the godly consideration of our ministers and people. *In connection with this plan* [italics ours] they directed the bishops to lay before the several Annual Conferences a proposed alteration of the second restrictive rule, and to report the result of the vote thereon to this General Conference.

“In compliance with said action, we laid before each of the Annual Conferences the proposition to alter the second restrictive rule, by adding thereto the word ‘ministerial’ after the word ‘one,’ and after the word ‘forty-five’ the words ‘nor more than two lay delegates for any Annual Conference.’ Each conference voted on said proposition, and the aggregate result is as follows:

For the proposed change.....	4,915
Against the proposed change.....	1,597
Blank.....	4

“In behalf of the bishops, M. SIMPSON.”

After this report was read the following paper, signed by J. T. Peck, W. L. Harris, R. S. Foster, G. Haven, and T. M. Eddy, was submitted and read:

“Whereas, The General Conference, at its session in Chicago in 1868, devised a plan for the admission of lay delegates as members of said General Conference, and recommended it to the godly consideration of our ministers and people; and,

“*Whereas*, A large majority of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church present and voting *in accordance with the provisions of said plan* [italics ours] voted in favor of lay delegation; and,

“*Whereas*, Three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences voted in favor of the change of the restrictive rules proposed in said plan, for the purpose of making it lawful to admit to the General Conference lay delegates *in accordance with said plan* [italics ours]; therefore,

“*Resolved*, 1. By the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, that the change in the restrictive rules submitted by the General Conference, and adopted by the required three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences voting thereon in accordance with the provisions of said plan, in the words following, to wit (see Plan), be and hereby is adopted.

“*Resolved*, 2. That said plan is hereby ratified and adopted, and declared to be in full force, and the lay delegates elected under it are hereby invited to take their seats as members of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on their credentials now in the hands of the secretary.”

We shall not attempt to describe the scene, far less record the resolutions offered and speeches made, which followed this adroitly worded paper. The haste and excitement, the indisposition to hear the remarks of any opponent of the “plan,” were not creditable to a body of Christian ministers called to deliberate upon the weighty matters of the Church.

Finally, on motion of W. F. Cowles, the Conference ordered a division of the matter pending, so that the vote could first be taken on the proposed change of the second restrictive rule, as follows :

“ *Resolved*, That this General Conference does hereby concur with the Annual Conferences in changing the second restrictive rule so as to read as follows :

“ They shall not allow of more than one ministerial representative for every fourteen members of an Annual Conference, nor allow of less than one for every forty-five, nor more than two lay delegates for any Annual Conference.”

The ayes and nays having been ordered, on calling the roll it was found that 283 had voted in the affirmative, Dr. Perrine among the number, and that six had voted in the negative. Three were absent or failed to vote. The resolution was therefore adopted.

On the motion which then followed, to vote on so much of the pending resolution as ratified and adopted the plan, *the previous question being called for*, it was found that 252 voted in the affirmative and 36 in the negative, Dr. Perrine among the latter. Motion, of course, adopted.

On the next motion, that the roll of laymen be called and that they be admitted to seats in the General Conference to deliberate together with the ministers as one body, 288 voted in the affirmative and one—Dr. Perrine—voted No! So the motion prevailed, and lay delegation as it now stands was an accomplished fact in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But it was not long before the plan was subjected to

a practical test, and the outcome was any thing but pleasing to its friends.

On the morning of May 21 a lay delegate moved that the laymen demand a separate vote in the election of bishops. Pending discussion of the question by the laymen, the point was raised that on a call for the separate vote of the two orders discussion was out of order. The chairman decided the point to be well taken, whereupon an appeal to the Conference was taken, but the ruling was sustained. The laymen, therefore, were denied discussion of their own motion.

Before the day's session closed the following protest was read and entered on the Journal:

"PROTEST.

"GENERAL CONFERENCE ROOM, *May 21, 1872.*

"TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE: We, lay delegates, who thought it right to record our names for a separate vote of the two orders in the election of bishops, respectfully protest against the proceedings this morning by which we were placed in a false light. After one speech for the movement and two speeches against it, we were required to vote in silence, and not allowed a word of explanation.

"We further protest against our votes being regarded as in any sense hostile or antagonistic to our ministers, and we challenge those who voted against us to a contest in our love and esteem for them." Signed by John Evans and twenty-two others.*

A day or two further on (May 23) Rev. I. Corwin

* *Journal*, 1872, pp. 291, 299.

presented the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Itinerancy:

“Resolved, That answer 3 to question 1, Chapter I, of Part II of Discipline be, and the same is hereby, altered so that it shall read as follows:

“Answer 3. At all times when the General Conference is met it shall take two thirds of the whole number of ministerial and lay delegates to form a quorum for transacting business. The ministerial and lay delegates shall sit and deliberate together as one body, but on any proposition to make, alter, or amend any rule or regulation of the Discipline they shall vote separately whenever such separate vote shall be demanded by one third of the members present of either order, in which case the concurrent vote of both orders shall be necessary to complete the action.”

Of course this resolution stirred up the laymen. It was in their judgment a stealthy blow at their rights under the plan. A call was circulated for a meeting in the lecture-room of Washington Street Church to consider what action should be taken in the premises. The call was signed by Chancellor Bates, of Delaware, Colonel Thompson, of Indiana, and Judge Goodrich, of Rock River.

According to the reports of the meeting which appeared at the time, about sixty lay delegates were present. Previous to organizing, Colonel Thompson suggested that the gentlemen present furnish their names and addresses for publication, so that they might know something of each other.

The meeting then organized by the election of ex-Sen-

ator Lane, of Indiana, chairman, Mr. Bonner, St. Louis, secretary, and General Albright, of Philadelphia, assistant secretary. Colonel Thompson suggested that Gov. Evans, of Colorado, state the object of the meeting.

Gov. Evans said that a measure had been introduced into the General Conference that morning very seriously affecting the interests of the constituencies who had sent lay delegates to that Conference. They all knew that a separate vote for each order, when demanded, had been decided upon at Chicago as a substitute for equal representation. Equal representation had been found to be impracticable, though the preachers were in favor of it. Even reducing the number of clerical representatives as low as it could be under the organic law of the Church—one to forty-five—the General Conference would then be too numerous a body with equal representation. A separate vote was therefore granted the laity as an equivalent for equal representation. It was now proposed to take that from them, *except on questions of discipline*. Questions of discipline the majority of them would be willing to leave to the ministers, but there were other grave and important interests in which the laity desired to exercise their right of a separate vote. Even with a separate vote the laymen cannot elect a man who has not a minority of the ministers, but now the laymen and a minority of the clergy could elect a man distasteful to the clergy.

Mr. Amos Shinkle, of Kentucky, differed with Gov. Evans, and regretted that the meeting had been called to discuss questions which should have been decided in the Conference, and nowhere else. The laity had

already received more privileges than they could have reasonably expected—for instance, in being admitted to the Committee on Appeals. It was unfortunate that the meeting had been called. Sixty-one laymen could tie the hands of any man, even if three hundred men might vote for him. *Was it right that sixty-one men should control the General Conference?* He should vote against it now, there, and every-where. He would vote for the change proposed that morning, and was even willing to go further and vote that the right to call be stricken out.

Judge McCalmont, of Erie, said that the two lay representatives from a Conference should represent just exactly their constituency, as the seven or the nine ministers from a Conference. Were one hundred and forty laymen to be overruled by the clerical delegates?

The Hon. Hiram Price, of Iowa, said that for many years it had been thrown as a reproach to the Methodist Church in the United States that they were priest-ridden and overruled by preachers. The General Conference four years ago made a law that the laymen should have an equal voice in the councils of the Church. Under the principle laid down in the plan they had an equal voice. Change the plan, and they will have no representation in fact at all.

Mr. Comstock, of New York, thought the right to a separate vote should be exercised only in extraordinary cases. He did not think it should be exercised in the minor matter of electing officers.

Mr. Bruehl, Central German, condemned the action of those brethren who were throwing a fire-brand into

the Conference. He thought matters should be left to the ministers.

Colonel Thompson, of Indiana, thought that an official elected by concurrent vote would be more acceptable to the people than one elected by the joint vote of clergy and laity. He did not expect, when the first opportunity presented itself for putting into operation the adopted method of equal representation that their ministerial brethren would charge them with antagonism. If that is Christian, then the system is unchristian. The system is attacked to-day. What are you going to do about it? I will get down on my knees and pray before Almighty God for every preacher in that congregation that will get mad at that Discipline. I want a separate vote retained in that Discipline till we see whether it works badly or well.

Judge Groo, of New York, did not think that the General Conference in Chicago intended equal representation by the plan of lay delegation adopted, but he hoped to live to see the day when they would have man for man in the General Conference. As, however, the plan adopted gave the laity certain rights, he was in favor, for one, whenever it was proposed to infringe on those rights, to have a separate vote, and vote it down every time.

Gov. Evans offered a resolution declaring it to be the sense of the meeting that the plan for lay delegation should not be changed for the next four years.

L. J. Critchfield, of Ohio, moved, as a substitute, the following:

“ *Whereas*, In the present plan of lay delegation, the

right to vote by separate orders was, so far as regards lay representation, intended as a compensation for the inequality in numbers between ministerial and lay delegates; therefore,

“Resolved, That we are opposed to any change of the Discipline that will limit or qualify the present right of the lay delegates to a vote by separate orders, while the inequality in numbers between ministerial and lay delegates exists; and that we will call for a vote by orders on any proposed change of the Discipline upon this subject.”

This substitute was accepted by Gov. Evans.

Mr. Critchfield said he thought that the ministers who lost their temper when a separate vote was asked for were wrong.

Colonel Thompson said, “We didn’t get mad when it was voted down.”

Judge Reynolds, of New York, said that there was the plan upon which lay delegation was founded, one of the laws of the Church. It was adopted after mature discussion in the Conference of 1868; it traveled around all the Conferences, and received about two thirds of the clerical votes and received about two thirds of the votes of the laity voting upon it. He supposed it meant what it said, that the laity had the right to call for a separate vote at any time on any occasion; not only on changes in the Discipline, but in the minor matter, as a brother chose to call it, of electing officers. It was neither incredible nor unprecedented that unworthy men should creep into office in the Church, and it would be better that every man who sought high office in the Church should have to go

through two sieves instead of one. There was no ground for alarm in the minds of the ministry. It was rather strange that, when they had deliberately and with consideration given the laity certain power, the very first occasion that the laity proposed to exercise that power the clergy should be seized with such excitement and trembling that the very next day a proposition was brought in to abolish it. Suppose that the laity themselves elected under that plan should concur! When the call was asked for, some of the laity were so frightened by the excitement of their brother ministers that they consented to waive a right given them by the clergy of the Conference four years ago. He hoped they would have the moral courage on proper occasions to exercise that right, and that it would never be exercised on an improper occasion.

Judge Hubbard, of East Genesee, said the right of separate vote was a conservative power and not a fire-brand. If the ministers cannot allow us to use the constitutional powers they have given us, it seems to me they ought to pray for more grace. The only trouble is a lack of grace. Among the laity people have all the powers that belong to them, and when they acquire as much grace as an ordinary civilian there will be no difference about the matter.

Chancellor Bates, of Delaware, reasoned against changing the plan at that session.

General Patton, of Pennsylvania, said that he believed what Bishop Scott had said that day—that he did not think that a corporal's guard of preachers would vote to take the right of the laymen away.

Colonel Thompson: "Let us separate, and then we will find out."

Judge Corwin, of Ohio, said that upon examination he had become satisfied that the laity had a right to call for a separate vote in questions of election.

Mr. W. R. Woodward, of Baltimore, and Mr. D. N. Cooley, of Iowa, spoke in defense of the rights of the laymen. The latter said, "Let us do right, though the heavens fall!"

Mr. Oliver Hoyt, of New York, said he for one would go to his home in shame were the laity to allow the system to be changed in that General Conference. It would put them in a position they could not submit to. He believed they would not submit to it.

Judge Goodrich thought the separate vote power should only be exercised on extraordinary occasions. He looked on it as a veto power.

General Albright said it was a legislative power.

Action was then taken on the Critchfield resolution, which carried by thirty-nine in the affirmative to six in the negative. The meeting adjourned.

Dr. Perrine noted very carefully all of these published sentiments of the laymen, and so far as they related to the rights and propriety of a separate vote under the plan he was in entire sympathy with them. We find in his memorandum book for that session of the General Conference an outline speech which runs as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT: I wish to second this call for a separate vote of the laymen for the following reasons:

"1. It is clearly their constitutional right. This call

for a division of the house is grounded in the organic law. This fundamental right of antagonism is inseparable, incarnate in the plan. This schism is constitutionally in the body.

“2. I am in favor of the call for the reason that every call for this separate vote will make more and more evident the fact that this principle of antagonism is found in the plan in its most objectionable form. The constitution of the Episcopal Convention makes it the DUTY of the laymen to vote separately, as also the duty of the clergy to vote separately; so that a separate vote awakens no suspicion. But with us, as the call for a separate vote is optional with one third of either order in the quorum, very naturally, necessarily, the thought is instantly suggested in the minds of the opposing order that there must be a covert reason, some hidden purpose, some sinister motive, some selfish end; and so, suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, and heart-burnings are the inevitable outgrowth of the unchristian principle incorporate in the plan. O how different from the spiritual organism, the moral selfhood, of the Church of Jesus Christ, where the whole body, fitly framed together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord!

“3. I am in favor of these separate calls because they will make manifest the sooner the unwise and undemocratic features of the ‘plan’—a minority in a popular assembly barring a majority. This is the quintessence of all absurdity in legislation—the perfection of all democratic shams, and yet this is called ‘equal representation.’

"4. I am in favor of this call, for it may open the eyes of some to the amazing fact that under the present 'plan' a lay pope is possible in Methodism.*

"5. I favor this call because it will evidence more and more fully every time it is made the folly of inaugurating a revolution in a popular body. When I stood here alone on the first of May endeavoring to stem the tide, I was thought demented when I demanded in *the name of the laity*, at the doors of this body, the fullest discussion, the calmest deliberation in such a change. And yet the laity are the very first to cry out against this dangerous spirit of antagonism. And again, when I demanded in the name of the entire ministry of the Church that the plan be thoroughly discussed before it should be enacted, I was thought to be a fit subject for bedlam; but, sir, the single call for a separate vote on Tuesday last extorted expressions from the lips of those who voted 'aye' on the plan as innocently and as thoughtlessly as a flock of lambs would skip the bars into a slaughter pen. The echoes may not have reached as far as the bishop's chair, but I heard the words 'revolution,' 'secession,' 'a disrupted Church,' etc., hissed through close-set teeth, and they came from the lips of ministers who, on the first of May, laid down at the feet of laymen the solemn trusts committed to them by the great Head of the Church. If these things be done in a green tree, what shall be done in a dry?"

Dr. Perrine's fears respecting the revolutionary tendency of the separate vote power have not been fully realized up to this date, but it is probably true that the call

* See page 167.

for a separate vote has never been made without exciting more or less of the suspicion, mistrust, and jealousy to which he referred.

Many serious objections to other features of the present plan of lay representation have appeared in various quarters. In March, 1873, the *Religious Telescope* said:

“Let us examine lay representation as instituted in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its General Conferences will hereafter be composed of a minority of laymen. But these laymen are chosen by an electoral college which is elected by the quarterly conferences; and these quarterly conferences are largely composed of the appointees and nominees of the preacher in charge, as he is also an appointee at the absolute discretion of the bishop presiding at the Annual Conference. The stewards and trustees, composing a large part of the membership of those quarterly conferences, though elected by the Conference itself, are all the nominees of the itinerants; and the class-leaders are the direct appointees of the preacher in charge. So from the foregoing it appears that while laymen compose the electoral college that chooses lay delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the laymen of the quarterly conferences are mainly the appointees and nominees of the itinerant preachers. So that while that Church has a good portion of lay delegates in its General Conference, it has little or nothing of lay representation in the true sense of that term. The great body of the people of the Methodist Episcopal Church have almost no voice at all in the selection of those who compose the quarterly,

Annual, or General Conferences of that denomination. Those delegates are the representatives of a chosen few, not of the masses of the Methodist people. Then let it be remembered that the majority of delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church are ministers elected by the Annual Conferences, which are composed exclusively of the itinerant preachers."

About the same date the following appeared editorially in the *New York Independent*:

"It is dimly believed by the uninstructed that the adoption of the principle of lay delegation by the Methodists gave to the laymen of that denomination some practical share in the administration of Church affairs. That belief rests, however, upon very slight foundations. To the Annual Conferences, where all the important work of the denomination is done, they have not been admitted. When the session of the Annual Conference, which is held previous to the meeting of the General Conference, is assembled, a lay electoral convention, composed of delegates from the several churches, is called at the same time and place. The laymen meet by themselves, and elect delegates to the General Conference; then, commonly, a place is made for them in the room where the Annual Conference is in session, and they walk in and are addressed by the bishop, to whom one of their number responds; after which they withdraw, and the work of the Conference, which has been interrupted by this interesting episode, proceeds. Their only relation to the working body of the Church consists in their being permitted, while the Conference is in session, to march up the aisle and then

march down again. In the General Conference, which meets once in four years, and which is the law-making body of the Church, the laymen will have a voice; in the Annual Conferences they have neither part nor lot."

In its issue of October 19, 1872, *The Methodist* expressed the opinion that we move too slowly in this whole matter of lay representation. It added: "The Southern Methodist Church moved long before us, and it gave, not only representation in the Annual as well as the General Conference, but it gave *equal* representation of the two classes in the latter. Our plan as thus far carried out is simply a 'shabby' one, and can be tolerated only as initial to something better."

It is worthy of note that Dr. Perrine anticipated all these objections and sought to provide against them. At the Brooklyn General Conference in 1872, nothing daunted by the fact that every member of that body had forsaken him in his opposition to the "plan," on May 9 he presented a memorial asking enlargement of the electoral basis of the present plan, so that all the membership outside of the quarterly conference might be represented in the body.*

On the sixteenth day of the same session he offered a resolution providing for such an extension of the right of suffrage to all the adult members of our Church outside of the quarterly conferences as should make the lay delegates *in reality*, what they have been only in name, the representatives of the people. He also asked for the admission of laymen into our Annual Confer-

* *Journal*, 1872, p. 115.

ences, especially to secure their invaluable services in the department of finance and other secularities.*

Soon after the General Conference of 1876 closed, Dr. Perrine in some way became advised that the late venerable Rev. Dr. Lovick Pierce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was in possession of some important information from Bishop Asbury, communicated to him personally, and he wrote to him for a statement. Dr. Pierce replied as follows:

"SPARTA, GA., August 9, 1876.

"DEAR BROTHER PERRINE: Yours of August 2 came to hand on the 7th. And although it was easily read, yet we could not be certain as to the name. It was to us a new name. And as to the *Daily Christian Advocate* referred to by you, it was not sent to me, so that I could not see the name in print. I am not sure that I am right now, but several good readers have made it out to be—Perrine.

"Well, as to Bishop Asbury's talk to me, and about which you inquire. It took place in 1811. In those days it was made the presiding elder's duty, when the bishop in his annual round entered his district, to meet him and accompany him through it. I was a presiding elder, and was in the discharge of this duty when, in a long and lonely day's ride, he said to me, 'I judge the time will come when our people will ask a representative power in our legislative Conference; and if so, I judge it would be best to have two houses—a house of representatives made up of a mixture of laymen and local

* *Journal*, 1872, p. 239.

preachers, and a house of old, well-tried, loyal itinerants.' This house he called, in his own peculiar Asburian way, 'The Senators.' His idea was to let every special department in the Church, made subject to any special law in the Discipline, be represented in its law-making council. And his safeguard for American Episcopal Methodism was in the common sense of State legislation, that nothing could be law until the house passed it. His 'Senators' was to insure against wild theories from without, so that if our original economy was ever metamorphosed it should be at least by us. He was a wise man, and saw from the first that no policy that ignored the will of the people would be safe in America. Hence he would not be ordained bishop over American Methodists at Mr. Wesley's nomination until he could be chosen by the preachers, if indeed he was their choice.

"I do not recollect of his saying a word in disapproval of such an event. His idea was to let the American political policy in regard to direct representation into our legislative policy, with such constitutional guards as would render harmful changes impossible by mere legislation. I do not recollect Bishop Asbury's saying a word in reference to mixed up General Conferences of lay and clerical delegates, all voting together as one simple mass. I think his ideal was, if the time ever came, two houses.

"I will say now, this talk made a deep impression on my mind. I was young, and could not see why he should mention a matter of this kind to me. But next year was the inauguration of a delegated General Con-

ference, itself a proof of the call for direct representation, at that time applied only to all parts of our great itinerant pastoral field. Bishop Asbury was a far-seeing man, and looking into the probable future of American Methodism he saw it to be probable that the Church he wished to preserve intact might be rent in twain at this point. And the going off of the Protestant Methodist Church in 1829 was largely upon this ground—what they called mutual rights.

“But lay delegation in law-making bodies is now a passion, and must be made a fashion. As to our move in this matter—and I think we were foremost—it was an out-and-out ministerial contribution. It was not even asked for by a single layman in all the Church that ever came to my knowledge. But, like the dear old bishop, we were sure it would come. We could see no good reason why it should be refused, and deemed it wiser to *give* it than it would be, under a demand for it, to grant it. We deemed it best to make the number equal. So far, we are greatly pleased, and look upon a wise lay delegation in a General Conference as very conservative.

“And now for my own opinion as to the two-house idea: I think all together, and all vote together, is better. A union in Church legislation that leads to unity in Church affections, aims, and objects is the most conserving policy. If necessity makes it wise to know who is who, the call for yeas and nays will do it. You must excuse the scribble in this letter; I am old and nervous, cannot write fair.

“Very sincerely yours,

L. PIERCE.”

Dr. Perrine promptly responded to the above letter, thanking its author for the priceless information it contained in respect to Bishop Asbury's views, and suggesting the hope that Dr. Pierce himself might find reason to change his mind as to the advisability of two houses in Methodist Episcopal Church legislation. He also forwarded to Dr. Pierce certain documents containing a few of his arguments on the subject in hand. These had their desired effect, as the sequel will show. Dr. Pierce wrote again as follows :

"SPARTA, GA., *August 24, 1876.*

"DEAR BROTHER PERRINE: YOURS of August 15 is in hand and has been read twice over with much interest. The value at which you take it is compensation enough, although writing is onerous to me at all times, especially so when the thermometer is ranging as high as 98 almost daily. But I hasten my reply. In as far as my expressed opinion is concerned, it was only given as my opinion unmasked. If therefore you should ever think it needful to publish Bishop Asbury's conversation to me, feel at full liberty to do so without any reference to my opinion. It was incidentally mentioned as between us alone. My name is too humble to give my opinion weight in a matter like this.

"Let me, if you please, caution you a little. It must not be said on my authority that Bishop Asbury expressed any desire for such a reorganization of the Church then. But this was his apprehension, that from our form of government it would come to pass that our people, as well in Church as in State, would desire,

perhaps demand, a direct representation in the law-making assembly of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And my opinion was, and is, that Bishop Asbury's opinion was that if the time ever did come it ought to be accorded, and if accorded how best to do it was what occupied his mind. Hence, as I understood him, he threw out his two-house idea—a house of representatives made up of laymen and local preachers; his idea was that if ever this re-modeled form of Methodist ecclesiasticism came to pass every department of the Church which required special legislation should be represented in this branch of our General Conference. Next, a senatorial house made up exclusively of itinerant ministers chosen either by seniority or ballot. Here again came in his grand idea, that an itinerant ministry must of course demand and have special legislation, it being in itself a grand specialty, so much so that if ever the time came when a distribution of legislative power must be made between clergy and laity this senatorial house of traveling preachers must remain. There never can be a real itinerant ministry only where the legislation is for itself and by itself, or safely under its control. Hence Bishop Asbury's wise conception, that if the time ever came when legislative power must be divided between clergy and laity it should be so done as to make a joint agreement between the two houses indispensable to its becoming a binding law on any one division of accountable subjects.

“You inquire if I caught your idea right—whether Bishop Asbury's idea was for special legislation; as, for instance, the lower house for all merely secular or finan-

cial interests and his clerical senate for its moral discipline. I am glad you ask this question, for although I cannot answer it as a settled fact in his mind, I can safely say what was my impression then, and has been ever since, that his idea was, as State legislatures in their two houses might originate a bill in either house, amend it in either, discuss it in either, but if it passed into a law it must be by adoption of both houses.

“It has always been a strange occurrence to me that Bishop Asbury should have made this wonderful communication to me, sixty-five years ago this September, and that I have been spared so many years, it seems, to declare this wonderful conception of that pioneer bishop of Episcopal Methodism at the only time I think in which it has ever been called for by pending issues.

This two-house General Conference is going to be both a question and *the* question. I am not through your argument yet. I am well pleased with your views as far as I am sure I get your meaning; I am sorry and sore every time a sensible man says any thing that leaves me in doubt where Elliott's *Great Secession* is quoted, whether it is in approval or in condemnation. Any one that had been present, and heard and seen what I did in Dr. Elliott, could never cease to wonder and to grieve that he should ever write a book and call it by this false name. We were never a secession, and never intend to be. We intend to be genuine Episcopal Methodists. I love to correspond with my Northern Methodist (brethren), but would not with any one that would call me a Secessionist. Write me if I am misled

in any way. Would not be surprised if we all became two-house Methodists at last.

“I am yours in brotherly love, L. PIERCE.”

The next and final letter of Dr. Pierce shows him to have become A THOROUGH CONVERT TO DR. PERRINE'S VIEWS. It reads as follows :

“SPARTA, GA., *August 30, 1876.*

“DEAR BROTHER PERRINE: Allow me first to congratulate the North and the South on the success of our Fraternal Commission. Such easy harmony was proof of what makes it best of all, which is, that both sides had made peace in their hearts before, and only wanted some suitable way to give it formal expression. The commission idea was the right one. I wonder if there will be any one, North or South, silly enough to enter a caveat. I hope not. If we are God's building this fraternal union will be the beginning of a new era in Episcopal Methodism. We ought in some way to celebrate the event as the great moral issue of our national centennial.

“But my object in this writing is to say I have read all your speeches on your proposed two-house General Conference plan, and on your main ground—a safer legislation—I am a thorough convert. Nothing has worried me more in my General Conference life than a hurried, excited legislation in the last week of a tedious session. In a word, to see a Methodist General Conference get into a muss, like a partisan legislature, seeking to defeat or to carry through a measure by parliament-

any legerdemain, was a mortification to me hard to bear. I can say for myself, what few of my brethren can say, I have never seen the time yet when to get home made me willing to hurry through an Annual or a General Conference. I am satisfied a two-house General Conference would do safer legislation than the present. I would like the triennial feature, although out here some would like to jump to once in seven years, just because of too much legislation. But it is really hurried, inconsiderate legislation that does the mischief. Two houses is the only relief I can see; and that would not be perfect. If there was any way by which a joint board could make out a calendar of resolutions and proposed revisals within the first week, that might be disscussed and decided as worthy of consideration, it would greatly aid in wise deliberation. I am not sure about your organization plan. I am not prepared either to adopt or amend just now.

“But how is it that there was so much speaking by you in favor of your views, with such clear and undeniable proofs of the wisdom and even necessity of two houses for good legislation, and so much mercurial sensibility displayed, and not a man that I have seen that even attempted to show any fallacy in your argument? Your minority might have been, and as I think you think were, the mental strength of the house; and if so, the triumph of your scheme will only be a question of time.

“Bishop Asbury’s forecastings about the future of American Methodism, as far as were hinted to me, were close by prophetic inspiration. And as to our

future, I hope we will respectfully and carefully turn upon one common plan as to leading Methodistic features; and, as lay representation is now a fixed fact, I hope this two-house General Conference will be calmly considered, and the Lord will provide for it if it is in any wise his ultimatum.

“O for peace, for fraternal love, for oneness in all great missionary work! It ill becomes us in foreign fields to seem to be setting up two Episcopal Methodisms. Let us be one in sweet accord.

“Yours ever,

L. PIERCE.”

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE PEOPLE.

THE real, dogmatic basis of the proposed change in the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church may be said to have been the doctrine of the "priesthood of the people." This was the stand-point from which the responsibility of the laity was most vigorously asserted from the pulpit and through the religious press.

Properly stated and guarded, this doctrine is rudimental, rich, and glorious. It is one phase of the grand idea on which the great Reformation under Luther was projected and carried forward. The primary principle in that Reformation was the doctrine of "justification by faith;" the secondary principle was that of the "priesthood of the people."

It has been claimed that the only scriptural use of the word "priest" or "priesthood," as it respects Christianity, is in reference to the common priesthood of Christian men and the "high priesthood" of Christ; that Paul is careful, even in regard to the latter, to show that it is peculiar, is not according to the priesthood of Aaron or the Levites, but altogether unique—"after the order of Melchizedek;" that Christianity knows no technical or clerical priesthood—none other than this common priestly function and dignity of all regenerated souls, under the sacerdotal headship of

Christ; that it has its ministry—its divinely called and commissioned administrators of instruction and discipline; that it clothes all its true children with pontifical robes, and commands all of them, as “a royal priesthood,” to live, work, and suffer for the Church, the kingdom of God on earth.

Aristotle’s definition of a priest was, one “presiding over things relating to the gods;” and this corresponds quite closely with that of Paul: “Every high-priest, being taken from among men, is appointed for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins.” Before the Mosaic law was given priesthood corresponded more closely to its present status in the Church than it did under the law. There was then less of the intermediary and ceremonial, more of the openness and directness which should characterize the approach of pious people to God. Thus we are told that Abel presented his own offerings to the Lord. “He brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect to Abel and his offering.” And of Noah we read that he “built an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.” Abraham also “built an altar and called upon the name of the Lord.” Melchizedek, king of Salem, also “brought bread and wine; and he was the priest of the most high God.” But when the Aaronic priesthood was established under the law of Moses the priests became a professional order, and were alone authorized to offer sacrifices. Thus Aaron bore the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart.

and their names upon his breastplate, when he went in unto the holy place for a memorial before the Lord continually. Mediation was the essential idea of the whole Hebrew priesthood. Its specific object was to mediate between God and man, and to speak to the latter in the name of the former. The priests were clothed with representative power to represent the people in the presence of Jehovah, and to prepare the way by which they themselves might approach God. As an educational measure this arrangement served a noble purpose. It impressed upon the minds of God's people the necessity of a sacrifice, and paved the way for comprehension of the great Sacrifice to be offered once for all, after which the sacerdotal priesthood should pass away and the people should themselves enter the holy of holies and serve as their own priests. This was the significance of the rent veil in the temple when Jesus died. The great sacrifice was then offered, and all true believers were made kings and priests unto God, having permission to enter the holy place and offer their sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving. Thus the shadow disappeared when the substance came. As a mediator Jesus Christ is the only priest; as servants of God true Christians are all priests, one having no advantage over another in the privileges of the sanctuary and the services of a holy life. No hint of any priest, or any officer answering to that description, can be found in the New Testament Church. As a religious order priesthood perished with Judaism. The priesthood of the class was merged into the priestly character of Jesus Christ and that of the whole discipleship. Paul could now

exhort: "Seeing then that we have a great high-priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus, the son of God, let us hold fast our profession. Let us come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need." And Peter could now say: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people." And John on Patmos, as he listened to the everlasting song, could take up the strain: "Thou art worthy, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests." As a high-priest Jesus sweeps the whole compass of human existence. Back of the Jewish economy, back of Aaron and all his train, his representative office goes, for in "being made perfect he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him; called of God a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek." He is openly and directly the world's High-priest, and all who believe in him constitute a holy priesthood, having a spiritual reign upon the earth. Thus under the Gospel is fulfilled more fully the divine declaration to Israel: "If ye will obey my voice, then shall ye be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Exod. xix, 6.

It therefore follows that, in the old Jewish sense of the term, Christian pastors are not priests, at least not any more so than their fellow-Christians. Their office is not to mediate, but to proclaim the Mediator; not to atone, but to preach the atonement. As ministers of the Gospel they are successors of the prophets* and

* The Church at Jerusalem had its prophets. See Acts xi, 27; xv, 32; xxi, 10; Matt. x, 41.

ruling elders of Israel, rather than of the priests, though in a metaphorical sense they might perhaps properly be styled priests. As leaders of the people (so constituted by the call of God and the approval of the Church) it is their special function "to offer up spiritual sacrifices of prayer, praise, thanksgiving," etc. They are taken from among men to offer up to the "unbloody sacrifice," as it was anciently called, the commemorative sacrifice of the blood of Christ. In the matter of drawing near to God they possess no advantages over their fellow-Christians. They minister because called to it in the order of the Church. They are preachers and teachers appointed by the Holy Ghost as overseers* of the interests of God's kingdom, and to feed the flock of Christ and make known the living Saviour to dying men. Theirs is a happy, holy, useful, and necessary office, but in point of spiritual privileges its incumbents are not lifted one iota above the high plane which all Christians may occupy as constituent members of the royal priesthood.

But the relation of each royal priest to his God is one thing, and his relation to his children, to the teacher of his children, to the assessor of his property, or the steward of his class, to the governor of the State or the pastor of his church, to his candidate for Congress or for the bishopric is quite another.

"Doubtless," said Dr. Perrine, "all these relations should be purified and seasoned with grace; but we submit that they are not priestly relations, and that his

* The designation "Those that are over you" is first met with in the earliest of Paul's epistles. 1 Thess. v, 12.

duties in them are not priestly functions. The drivers of a stage coach or of a steam-engine might be good men, both spiritual and devout, but nevertheless driving stage or steam horses could scarcely be called priestly functions. The barber might be a very devout man and a very worthy member of Christ's spiritual Church, nevertheless but very few would ever regard the function of clipping the beard and dressing the hair as especially priestly. This principle has evidently been carried too far."

And so with regard to each individual royal priest in the congregation. "We must draw a broad and conspicuous line of demarkation," said Dr. Perrine, "between *their priestly function* of entering the holiest and offering up spiritual sacrifices to God through Jesus Christ, and the unpriestly outward duties of regulating the furnace, renting the pews, electing the stewards, appointing the pastors, or legislating for the Church. The whole external structure of Church organization, or body ecclesiastic, *as such*, in our judgment, is as distinct from the *priestly function* of the soul ascending in spiritual sacrifices to God as the anatomy of Aaron's heart, stomach, or brain was from *his* act of offering up of the bleeding lamb or incense upon the altar."

Not with the utmost consistency, therefore, did the advocates of lay delegation urge the doctrine of the priesthood of the people as the true scriptural basis for the proposed reform. We know that this doctrine in their hands was tremendously effective. The ministry and laity gave earnest heed to its promulgation. Without carefully considering its true significance and

bearing, they hailed its special application to the lay movement as something new under the sun, and having in it the promise of unbounded inspiration to Christian work and effectiveness. Said one of the religious journals of the period: "Let our business men learn that they have no more right to use their talents and success for merely selfish advantage than the pastors in their altars, the city missionaries who may be starving on their stinted contributions, or the missionaries whom they send to the ends of the earth have to be equally selfish, and we shall change the whole condition of the religious world. And in doing so we shall but restore primitive Christianity; for the 'priesthood of the people,' as taught by the reformers, was but the revival of an apostolic idea—the idea that all men who, by regeneration, enter the kingdom of God on earth must live, work, and, if need be, die, for the interests of that kingdom; that whatever difference of *function* or mode of work there may be, as between preacher and layman, and whatever difference in the *degree* of responsibility, there is no difference in the principle and certainty of that responsibility; that the *one talent* will be held accountable as well as the two or five; that it was, in the Master's great lesson, not the man of superiority, nor he of mediocrity, but he of inferiority, he of the one talent, rather than of the two or five, who was lost and cast into 'outer darkness.'" All very true, but really what had this to do with God's plan and teachings respecting the government of the Church? We shall see.

It so happened that among all the extremists who

urged this doctrine as the ground of reform in the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church none were more prominent, more eloquent, or more influential than the great historian of Methodism, Dr. Abel Stevens.

The poor man who suddenly acquires wealth becomes the typical rich man; the obscure subject who, on the wave of popular excitement, is exalted to high office becomes the typical ruler; the conservative man, once changed in his opinions, becomes the typical radical. Such a radical, upon this subject at least, was Dr. Stevens.

"I venture to claim a special right to speak upon this subject," said he at the opening of his memorable speech in favor of lay delegation in St. Paul's Church, Newark, N. J., Wednesday evening, February 26, 1869, as reported in *The Methodist*.

"A special right to speak?" Why? "For what I think will be considered by wise men a valid reason—the fact that I have *changed my opinions* upon it. . . . I was born into the Church in the time of the old radical controversy, and was educated to believe lay representation an inadmissible heresy. Practically, it was proscribed. I doubt very much whether a young man could then have got admission into an Annual Conference if it was understood that he was a 'radical' upon this question. Thus trained, I accepted the theory of the Church, and in later years defended it with my pen, but never with an original argument. The citations from my writings, made by my opponents, are only the arguments of our old authorities, sincerely re-

uttered by me in my pupilage. I changed my opinion before the controversy revived in the Church."

But what were Dr. Stevens's opinions now? He had a great many, and forcible ones, too, but our space and occasion will here admit of only such paragraphs as Dr. Perrine considered especially objectionable.

"Not that we are utterly opposed," said Dr. Perrine in one of his able articles in reply to Dr. Stevens; "not that we are utterly opposed to the admission of laymen into the councils of the Church on any conditions, not that we are opposed at all to their admission on scriptural conditions, but because we believe the fundamental positions of the speech to be fundamentally erroneous—scripturally, logically, and historically false; and because we believe its eloquent heresies from their fundamental character to be calculated to work wide-spread evil in the Church of God."

The first general postulate in Dr. Stevens's speech was that "the spirit and genius of primitive Christianity justify, not to say demand, this improvement (the plan of lay delegation) in our Church system." He affirmed "the essential equality of all saints in the kingdom of God on earth." "We hear a great deal nowadays," he said, "about the theocratical nature of Church government, its divine rights and prerogatives. You must not reason from state governments about Church government, we are told: they lack analogy. The assumption is contrary to the whole tenor of the New Testament, and the whole evidence of contemporary history.

He said again: "The Lutheran Church refuse to call

their clerical grades 'orders;' they recognize them simply as offices. They thus assert my general position: The essential equality of all saints in the kingdom of God; the priesthood of the people; the priesthood of the sexton yonder at the door, if he is a devout man, as well of the teacher or minister here in the altar; the priesthood of the chorister yonder and all around him, if they are real disciples; the priesthood of the mechanic and farmer—of all. Whoever enters into the Church a living Christian should be recognized from the pews and from the pulpit as arranged in pontifical robes, ministering in the Church, in his home, in his workshop, every-where, in the common, divine service of an evangelical life." He uttered these sentences: "All are divinely called." The "ministerial call is essentially the same as that of other Christian functions." "The government of the Church is indeed a theocracy, but in no other sense than the great ethical principles of law and order in the State are theocratic." "There is no other basis for ecclesiastical rights and government than the general ethical basis of all government." "Church government, according to the apostolic Church, is left to Christian expediency—is not in any given form obligatory—is contingent." "It is a well-ascertained fact, admitted among the best ecclesiastical historians, that the system of apostolic Church government was copied from the synagogue. And this is a most significant fact. There were two ecclesiastical exponents before then. There was the Jewish Church proper, with its grand Levitical system, ordained of God and prescribed by Moses, where the Aaronic

priesthood officiated. Besides this, or secondary to it, was the synagogue, or provincial worship. The synagogue, with all its services, is mentioned in the writings of Moses. It was never enjoined; it sprung up from local expediency. The priests officiated at the temple; but the general expounders of the manuscript law—the popular preachers of the day—were in the synagogue.” “The primitive Christians, or Jews, had been accustomed to certain simple ecclesiastical usages, founded in practical convenience, but without a word of divine prescription. They copied them into their new organization.” “Ordination was a local ceremony of the synagogue, designating men to office by a decent form, and, I repeat, is unmentioned in the writings of Moses.” “The government of the primitive Church was not copied, I re-affirm, from the Levitical system; it had no divine prescription, and has no divine injunction. It was all copied from the Jewish provincial customs, and simply because these were expedient, decent, impressive; Christianity thus started untrammelled for its career over all the planet and down all the ages.” “The conclusion, then, is this—that Church government, in the light of primitive Christianity, is a matter of expediency. This generalization is historically, logically, and indefeasibly true.” “We preachers of the Gospel are only the executive officers of the common priesthood. As all cannot preach together without confusion, the Church selects those most competent, and virtually says: ‘Go you up and do the talking in the pulpit, and we will do our talking in the vestry, the class-meeting, the Sunday-school, the

home.' That is the doctrine of the priesthood of the people. But here comes in an objection that I am very much mortified to have to refer to, both for its logic and its invasion of the highest right of the Christian life by an unfounded discrimination—the objection that the ministry has a 'divine call.' To be sure it has. Don't let any man misunderstand here or misrepresent me elsewhere. 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel,' said Paul; and so say all these pastors around me to-night. I do not deny, I do assert the divine call to the ministry; but those who assert it as against this reform limit the idea and leave its length and breadth unasserted. The Holy Ghost calls me to preach in the Church; therefore am I to govern the Church? I don't see that logic; but let us admit it. Have I, the preacher, the Holy Ghost alone? Does the Holy Ghost call the minister, alone, to his duty? Is there one of these priests of the people, whose right I have expounded, who has not the Holy Ghost, and cannot have it in as blessed a plenitude as any clerical priest, high-priest, bishop, archbishop, cardinal, or pope? Not one of them, if I understand the New Testament. And when the Christian world comes again to this position, when the idea of the universal and royal priesthood of the people is restored to the consciousness of Christendom, it will resume its apostolic mightiness and victories, and be such a Church as Christ designed it to be. No man is a Christian without the Holy Ghost." "On the logic of the opponents of lay delegation, if a call to the ministry implies a call to govern the Church, the local ministry should be sent to the Annual and

General Conferences, and our Church government would virtually be in the hands of the local ministry ! There would be a majority of about one third of the General Conference in the power of the local preachers. What a curious state of things that would be ! I would not wish it—not at all. I do not want the local ministry to control the Church. I do not want the traveling ministry to control the Church. I wish the Church to control itself—the whole royal priesthood governing, with merely distinctions of office for expediency, but all divinely called. That is the doctrine.”

Over against this position as the ground-work of Church government Dr. Perrine urged the following distinct propositions:

“1. In the apostolic Church a call to preach was a special vocation limited and isolated in the name of God.

“2. Authority to rule or govern in the apostolic Church was a special commission limited and isolated in the name of God.

“3. These two differing commissions were distinctively given to the twelve apostles in the name of God.

“4. The commission to govern in the primitive Church was conveyed by the inspired apostles to the ordained preaching elders who succeeded them in the name of God.

“5. This scriptural rule of the elders called of the Holy Ghost, and approved first of the people by “show of hands,” and secondly of the presbytery by “imposition of hands,” is of perpetual obligation and is neither hierarchy, High Churchism, papacy, nor eccle-

siastical oppression, but simply New Testament theocracy, genuine Protestantism, God-honored Methodism—Methodism triumphant in the light of the nineteenth century and in keeping with the free spirit of American institutions.”

In arguing these several propositions Dr. Perrine acknowledged the beauty of the doctrine of “the priesthood of God’s people.” “As set forth in the Scriptures,” said he, “the doctrine is beautiful, admirable, magnificent! We believe in it, thank God for it, and sincerely compassionate the soul that has ever caught a solitary glimpse of its transcendent excellence who does not glory in it.” “Would God,” he added, “not only that all the Lord’s people were prophets, but that the Lord would put his Spirit upon all men; that all the people were of the priesthood of believers!”

“But here,” he observed, “is a new and unheard-of doctrine, and startling definitions and novel applications, denying a special divine call to the holy ministry, and asserting the general commission of the priesthood of the people to do all the ‘talking,’ ‘teaching,’ ‘preaching,’ and ‘governing’ in the Church of God. Its novelty provokes our attention and curiosity. Let us turn it about a little, and justly admeasure its pretensions.”

Having now presented the main questions to be discussed, and the occasion for their discussion, the Editor will here step aside. In all succeeding chapters, therefore, Dr. Perrine is the first person speaking.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPECIAL DIVINE CALL TO THE MINISTRY.

WHILE the specific propositions enumerated in the foregoing chapter do not commit us to any specified form of Church government, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or even of Methodism itself, nevertheless they embrace all the general principles of Church polity essential to this discussion. Let us now examine the first: that of a special divine call to the Christian ministry.

1. It is proposed by the proclamation of the general "priesthood of the people" to bar the admission of a special priesthood of the ministry. The coincidence and harmony of the general and special under the Mosaic dispensation appear to be forgotten or ignored. Such texts as the following addressed to Israel under the old regime appear never to have been read: "Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." *Exod. xix, 5, 6*. Did this priesthood of the people preclude a special priesthood in the time of Moses? Was there no tribe of Levi? No house of Aaron?

The modern objection to a special priesthood lacks the charm of originality. It dates much farther back than the dawn of the present discussion. It was not

first pronounced in New Jersey. "Korah, son of Izhar, Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, and On, the sons of Peleth, raised the same objection against a "special priesthood," for the same identical reasons.

"And they rose up before Moses, with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown, and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy. Wherefore, then, lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?" Num. xvi, 2, 3. This has the ring of so many high-sounding speeches and sonorous editorials on "the priesthood of the people," that we find it difficult on reading the above to shake off the impression that all this must have occurred in the noon of the nineteenth century, and not many centuries since—in the days of the first grand lay movement on the borders of the wilderness of Sin!

Paul, at the breaking of the Gospel dispensation, was obliged to encounter the same objection, and most satisfactorily has he taken care of it, though not exactly in the style in which its first advocates were disposed of; yet we have as clear, if not as stunning, an exhibition of the mind of God.

In 1 Cor. xii, 7, the great apostle tells us that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man." This is his doctrine of the priesthood of the people. But what does he infer? That there is no difference among us but of office for convenience? We are "happy" that he may once more "speak for himself:"

“Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are differences of administration, but the same Lord ; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God who worketh all in all. . . . For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, and to another the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another discerning of spirits,” etc. But all these worketh the self-same Spirit, dividing, limiting, and isolating “to every man severally as he will.” “God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers,” etc. “Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers?”

If the views of the extremists respecting the bearing of the doctrine of the “priesthood of the people” are correct, the passage should read about as follows: “Now there are no diversities of gifts, but it is the same Spirit; there are no differences of administration, for it is the same Lord; and there are no diversities of operation, for it is the same God who worketh all in all. For to every one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom, and to every one the word of knowledge by the same Spirit, and to every one the working of miracles, to every one proph-
 eey, to every one discerning of spirits, etc.; for all these worketh the self-same Spirit, not dividing, limiting, or isolating to any man, ‘severally as he will.’ God hath set every one in the Church as apostles, prophets, teachers, etc. All are apostles; all are prophets; all are teachers, etc.” Away with such an interpretation of the eternal Word! A doctrine thus expounded has no place between the lids of the sacred book.

In another letter Paul reiterates the doctrine of "orders" in the Church with sacred emphasis. Of Him "who ascended up on high" it is affirmed that "he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints," etc. Eph. iv, 11. "Having, then, gifts differing according to the grace given unto us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith, or ministry, let us wait on our ministering, or he that teacheth on teaching." Rom. xii, 6, 7. Would our opponents infer from these texts that the ministerial call was not "limited" or "isolated?" That "the preachers of the Gospel" in these days of "primitive equality" were "merely the executive officers of the common priesthood?" Methodists will, doubtless, for some time to come, continue to believe that the exact nature of any specific "call" will be as the "gifts," "differing," and the specific character of the "gift," as the "grace given," and yet, as hearty indorsers of the true doctrine of the "priesthood of the people," they are disposed to believe that "the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men;" that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man," and that "according to their faith" "laymen may have the Holy Ghost in as blessed a plenitude as clerical priest, high-priest, bishop, archbishop, cardinal, or pope;" and most Methodists, we think, will be quite likely to conclude that it is not the quantity of the Spirit given, but the specific character of the "call," that constitutes the nature and limits—the full measure—of our several responsibilities.

“Does the Holy Ghost call the minister alone to his duty?” Of course not. The Holy Ghost will, doubtless, impress upon the mind of every spiritual man at least the following important particulars: 1. That his calling should be pursued “honestly” (Rom. xii, 17); 2. “Religiously” (Rom. xii, 11); 3. “Diligently” (Prov. xxii, 29); 4. “Persistently” (1 Cor. vii, 20); 5. “Peaceably” (1 Thess. iv, 11); that it should be the calling in which he could accomplish most for God, the Church, his family and himself, and especially one for which he had most natural adaptations and qualifications. But can any deny that some men, in their exceeding versatility, have equal adaptations and qualifications for a great diversity of callings? that they would excel in whatever they should attempt? Will any man affirm that the Holy Ghost would call this man or that among the laity to this or that particular profession so peculiarly and urgently that he must say as emphatically as ever St. Paul did, “Woe is me if I” drive not the plow, plane, pegs, stage, or the steam-horse? Woe is me if I peddle not pumps, pans, pills, or patent rights? Preposterous! Yet this seems to follow logically from the position that “all are divinely called, and that ‘the call’ to the Christian ministry is essentially the same as to other Christian vocations.”

2. The chief stumbling stone in the way of this modern logic is the entire misapprehension of the doctrine of the priesthood of the people as set forth in the Scriptures. As we understand these extremists, they urge this “priesthood” in favor of this most singular postulate: that all the laity—all church members, of course—

all men, women, and children, are divinely constituted "teachers" in the Church of God!

Has it never occurred to our able advocates of the "pontifical" prerogatives of the people that "teaching" was merely incidental to the sacred "priesthood?" that it constituted no part of their proper functional service? During the whole period of the "theoeraey" teaching by the priests was quite as exceptional and as unofficial as were the "sacrifices" by the prophets Samuel and Elijah, or the "offering of burnt offerings" by the kings David and Solomon. In later times, when ignorance abounded to an amazing extent, it might have been necessary for the priests to have explained to a gross and benighted people the simple significance of the various sacrifices and services of their ritual.

The duty of instructing the people in the precepts of the law of God was at first devolved by express command upon the elders of Israel or upon the heads of families (Dent. vi, 7), and afterward was taken up by the scribes, or "sons of the prophets," whose ideal was well expressed in the declaration of the inspired Ezra (vii, 10), "to seek the law of the Lord and do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." "Upon the whole," says Godwin (*Jewish Antiquities*, p. 240), "the scribes were the preaching clergy among the Jews; and while the priest attended the sacrifices, they (the scribes) instructed the people."

The priests and Levites, during the continuance of the "theoeraey," were ministers both to the Church and State, but they were not like the "priests" under

the Gospel, teachers of the people; not being instructors of the people, in the ordinary sense of the term, "they were not required to dwell in the cities and villages occupied by the rest of the community, but dwelt in cities of their own, a circumstance which of itself proves that they were not public instructors."

Yet our opponents affirm that "we preachers of the Gospel are but the executive officers of the common priesthood. As all cannot preach together without confusion, the Church selects those most competent, and virtually says, 'Go up and do the talking in the pulpit, and we will do our talking,' " etc.!

Equally preposterous is the claim of the democratic rights of government in the Church of God, based on the scriptural doctrine of the "priesthood" of the people, which claim we may be allowed especially to notice just here.

Under the old economy the Levitical *caste* never claimed to govern the nation. Levi was not the ruling tribe; Aaron was not the ruling spirit. Yet the effort is now made to found the government of the Church upon the priesthood of the people. "We wish the Church," says Dr. Stevens, "to control itself. The whole royal priesthood governing with merely distinctions of office for expediency, but all divinely called! That is the doctrine!!"

"All divinely called." True—but to what? To "teach" or "preach?" The priests of old were officially neither "teachers" nor "preachers." To govern? "The priests" never claimed nor were intended to govern. Called to what? "To draw near" to the

divine presence. Such is the significant etymology of the Hebrew and Arabic terms for "priest," and such is the glorious calling of the priesthood of the people. Not to the drudgery of teaching or the thankless task of governing, but to draw near to the glory of God—to enter through the veil of a Saviour's torn flesh the holy of holies to present in their own behalf the "Sacrifice offered once for all." This is the high and holy "calling of God in Christ Jesus" to all the people.

May we not now courteously lend a hand to assist our logician across a slight flaw in his argument? He urges his objections thus: "The Holy Ghost calls me to preach in the Church; therefore I am to govern the Church; I don't see that logic." The Holy Ghost calls the people to a "royal priesthood" in the Church, "to draw near to God;" *therefore!* they are "all called" to preach in the Church—all called to govern in the Church. Does he "see" this logic?

CHAPTER V.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION TO GOVERN.

THE doctrine of the priesthood of the people having been shown to be utterly irrelevant to the "callings" of either "teaching" or "governing," we now proceed to the discussion of the principle of expediency in Church government.

While not disposed to question the validity of the principle when applied to those less important details that vary to a certain extent the different Church economies of Christendom, we hope to show that, when applied to the fundamental principles of Church government, it is far from being satisfactorily established; its doubtful empire being by far too narrowly and sharply circumscribed by the unwavering lines traced by the pen of inspiration—the finger of God. The generous natures of our distinguished advocates, however, have endowed this principle with boundless empire and unlimited authority. "The government of the primitive Church," they tell us, "had no divine prescription and has no divine injunction. It was all copied from the Jewish provincial customs, and simply because they were expedient, decent, and impressive." And again: "The conclusion, then, is this, that Church government in the light of primitive Christianity is a matter of expediency. This generalization is historically, logically,

and indefeasibly true." The arguments by which they would fortify so extensive a territory are chiefly these : (a) "The government of the primitive Church was not copied from the Levitical system," "ordained of God and prescribed by Moses." (b) The system of apostolic Church government "was copied from the synagogue" which is "unmentioned in all the writings of Moses," and "never enjoined." "The primitive Christians and Jews had been accustomed to certain simple ecclesiastical usages founded in practical convenience, but without a word of divine prescription." "They copied them into their organization."

Let us look inquiringly into the merits of these in their order :

(a) "The government of the primitive Church was not copied from the Levitical system ordained of God and prescribed by Moses," and therefore it had "no divine prescription, and has no divine injunction !" The fault of this logic is apparent at a glance, the premise being by far too narrow for the exceeding breadth of the conclusion. Was nothing besides the Levitical system ever "enjoined of God ?" One of these advocates, within five minutes after he had named this argument, gave a very conclusive refutation of it in referring to the priesthood of Christ. "St. Paul," he says, "pronounced Jesus Christ the High-priest, yet St. Paul was guarded lest it might be thought he had some reference to Levitical authority or Jewish precedent. He argues that Jesus was not a High-priest after the order of Aaron, but that of Melchizedek," and so, Christ not having Levitical authority, was without authority, the conditions of his priesthood

not having been “prescribed by Moses!” Logic of the nineteenth century!

The second argument is equally fallacious. “The system of apostolic Church government was copied from the synagogue, unmentioned in all the writings of Moses, and never enjoined.” *Therefore this “copying,” though done by the Saviour himself and his inspired apostles, is founded solely on the principle of expediency, and has no binding authority on the ages that follow! We propose, in answer, both to question the premise and to disprove the conclusion.

The premise is an untenable assumption, or rather a trinity of assumptions: (1) That the synagogue is “unmentioned in all the writings of Moses;” (2) that it was “never enjoined;” and (3) that the government of the apostolic Church was all “copied from the Jewish synagogue.” Having disposed of these, we shall notice the more amazing assumption in the conclusion that the act of Christ and his apostles in transferring some of the offices and ceremonies of the synagogues into the Christian Church is to be regarded as simply an expedient for the times, and of no binding force whatever on those who should come after.

1. We are told that the synagogue is “unmentioned in all the writings of Moses,” “and never enjoined.” We propose to show these statements to be erroneous.

In a little book entitled *Church Polity*, by Dr. Stevens, written, as he tells us, in the days of his “pupilage,” we find substantial information “in the arguments of the old authorities sincerely re-uttered by him.” Here the author informs us that the “synagogue

was a local and conventional institution, founded on not a single command, except the general one contained in Lev. xxiii, 3." Here, then, it is clearly admitted that the institution is at least founded on a "general command" of the Mosaic law. This is encouraging. But this "general command" is in fact most specific. "Six days shall work be done, but the seventh is the sabbath of rest, a holy convocation, *mikra kodhesh* (of synagogue). Ye shall do no work. It is the sabbath in (or among) all your dwellings," or, as the Septuagint's text may be rendered, "In all your dwelling places, villages, settlements, or colonies."

"The word *mikra*, which we render a convocation," says Godwin, "seems more naturally to import a *place of public worship* in which the people assembled than the assembly itself. As in the following passage in Isaiah: 'And the Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion and upon her assemblies (*mikrajeha*), a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flame by night,' chap. iv, in which there is a manifest allusion to the tabernacle whereon the cloud and pillar of fire rested in the wilderness. Exod. xi, 38. And what, then, could these *mikra kodhesh* be but synagogues, or edifices of public worship?" *

These *mikra kodhesh* may be but a Hebrew synonym for the Hebrew words *monguad-heel*, which are appropriately rendered in Psa. lxxiv, 8, "the synagogue of God," and are so qualified by the words that precede and follow as to be by no possible means referred to the temple at Jerusalem, that existed before this psalm

* *Jewish Antiquities*, p. 318.

was written ; for the psalmist laments that during Israel's captivity their enemies had burned up "all the synagogues of God in the land." How was the Sabbath to be kept, and especially these convocations to be observed by Israel, if there were to be no more than one consecrated place? Is it not clear that the "general command" is a specific injunction to hold holy convocations, or "synagogues," on every Sabbath day, in or among all their dwellings throughout the entire land? How preposterous the affirmation that this institution is "never mentioned in the writings of Moses."

2. Can it be more satisfactorily shown that it was "never enjoined?" Can it be proven that these assemblies or synagogues—for the terms are synonymous—were not immediately organized under the immediate supervision of God? If that very sweeping assertion, that it was "never enjoined," is to be made good, they must do this and much more. They must show that God at no subsequent period has ever intervened for the regulation of the religious services instituted by divine command.

The silence that follows touching these convocations no more disproves their existence than it does that of the Sabbath on which they were held; for the sacred day is not alluded to during a period of five hundred and fifty-four years, nor the tabernacle itself for a period of three hundred years. Will these advocates lift the curtains of that silence, and by tracing distinctly the track of divine administrations show us beyond a question that the services of the synagogue were not during that oblivious period "divinely en-

joined?" When a flash of inspiration does for a moment light up the scene of these assemblies (2 Kings iv, 23), what is the character of the picture? A democracy? A convention of delegates enacting laws on the basis of expediency, decency, or convenience? No, sir! "The man of God" is the aggregating center.

Can it be proved that Elisha, the inspired prophet of God, did not in the name of heaven make all needful "rules and regulations" for the government of these implied assemblies on the "sabbath, or new moons?"

Look at the scenes given further on: "the elders of Israel" coming "to inquire of the Lord" and sitting at the feet of the prophet Ezekiel. Ezek. xx, 1. Hear the people saying every one to his brother, "Come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the Lord. And they came unto thee as the people cometh, and they sit before thee as my people, and they hear thy words." Ezek. xxxiii, 30, 31. In this manner elders and people were accustomed "to inquire of the Lord," and can any one show that the regulations of the services of the synagogue were never the subject of inquiry on the part of the people and of "injunction" on the part of the Lord?

Look at the interest Jehovah has manifested in his people when deprived through captivity of the privileges of the temple service. "Thus saith the Lord God, Although I have cast them off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them as a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come." Ezek. xi, 16.

Will any one point out the especial propriety of this beautiful metaphor if this "little sanctuary" or "synagogue," as most authorities interpret it, had not the especial sanction of the Lord of hosts? Stronger language expressive of the divine interest in the institution of the synagogue could scarcely be employed. Deity himself should be as a miniature temple—for such were the synagogues—Josephus frequently calling the temple and the synagogue by the same name, "Ieron" (*ιερον*).*

Bishop Stillingfleet says the first model of the synagogue government is with a great deal of probability derived from the schools of the prophets and the government thereof. † We have a picture of one of these "schools" in 1 Sam. xix, 20. What was the "government thereof?" "And Saul sent messengers to take David, and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing *as appointed over them*, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied." Who will prove that God did not make that "appointment;" that, according to our American ideas, Samuel was popularly elected "decently," "conveniently," "expediently," and "contingently?"

Dean Stanley says that these schools "were organized under Samuel," "who stood appointed over them," and that "under the shadow of his name the prophets dwelt as in a charmed circle," etc. ‡

Who were "the masters of assemblies, which are

* *Wars of the Jews*, Book VI, x, 1, and Book VII, iii. 3.

† *Irenicum*, p. 282.

‡ *Jewish Church*, p. 440.

given under one shepherd," mentioned Eecl. xii, 11? Who will prove that these were not the elders "given" of God under one pastor or angel of the synagogue, and all under one great Shepherd?

"And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose; and beside him stood Mattathiah, and Shema, and Anaiah, and Urijah, and Hilkiab, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah, and Meshullam. And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people; (for he was above all the people); and when he opened it, all the people stood up: and Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with lifting up their hands: and they bowed their heads, and worshiped the Lord with their faces to the ground. Also Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites, caused the people to understand the law: and the people stood in their place. So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." Neh. viii, 4-8.

Stillingleet says: "About the time of Christ we find synagogues of very great request among the Jews, God so disposing it that the moral part of his service should be more frequented now the ceremonial was about expiring, and by those places so erected it might be more facile and easy for the apostles to dispense the Gospel by preaching it in those places to which it was

the custom of the Jews to resort." * Who will undertake to prove the contrary?

But, for the purpose of penetrating directly to the very quick of this famous principle, let us for the moment grant the utmost that any radical advocate could possibly claim touching the casual origin of the Jewish synagogue, and the transference of its entire ritual and polity, bodily, into the primitive Church, determining thereby, even to the *minutiæ*, the forms of its worship and government. Would these facts forever bar the claim that these "forms" might still be divinely prescribed and divinely enjoined? If not, then all that might be said in proof of the position, that the synagogue was not "mentioned in the writings of Moses," and of the worship and economy of the primitive Church being "copied simply from the Jewish provincial customs," falls by its own specific irrelevancy entirely out of the argument as worthless.

We propose now to show that if these alleged facts bar the divine authority of primitive Church government, similar facts invalidate, to a very considerable extent, the claim that the Levitical system was "divinely prescribed and divinely enjoined." Let us take the construction of the tabernacle for an illustration. Every one will agree with us that all its appointments were of divine authority. "And look that thou make them after their pattern showed thee in the mount." Exod. xxv, 40. "As Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle, for see,

* *Iren.*, p. 264.

saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern showed thee in the mount." Heb. viii, 5.

But will any man deny that many portions of that divine pattern had been anticipated in the peculiar feature of Egyptian temples with which Moses and Israel are more or less familiar, or that these transfers are not made by divine authority? The denial of either would be equally hazardous. The Scriptures which we have quoted determine the latter, while every authority in the antiquities of Egypt will make evident the former.

Our space will only permit us to glance at the widespread "primeval symbolism" from which very many of the outlines of that pattern were evidently drawn. "So far from laboring," says one authority, "to prove, at the price of ignoring or destroying facts, that every thing till then was unknown, we shall as little expect to find it so as to see in Hebrew a new and heaven-born language, spoken for the first time on Sinai, written for the first time on the two tables of the covenant.

"The thought of a graduated sanctity like that of the outer court, the holy place, the holy of holies, had its counterpart, often the same number of stages, in the structure of Egyptian temples.* The interior adytum was small in proportion to the rest of the building, and commonly, as in the tabernacle,† was at the western end,‡ and was unlighted from without.

"In the adytum, often, at least, was the sacred ark, the culminating point of holiness, containing the highest

* Bahr, *Symb.*, i, 216. † Josephus, *Ant.*, ii, 6, § 3. ‡ Spencer, iii, 2.

and most mysterious symbols, winged figures, generally like those of the cherubim,* the emblems of stability and life. Here were outward points of resemblance. Of all the elements of Egyptian worship this was one which could be transferred with least hazard, and with most gain. . . . When we ask what gave the ark its holiness we are led at once to the infinite difference, the great gulf between the two systems." †

These facts cannot be gainsaid. What will our radical advocates do with them? Or, rather, what will not these ugly facts do with their pretty theories of expediency founded on the transfer of "the convenient and decent provincial customs of the Jews" into the service and government of the primitive Church?

Let it be once established that these transfers were made by the divine authority of Christ and his inspired apostles, and these unweleome facts must smash into very unpleasant and uneomfortably close quarters the whole inflated system of expediency. For if God could even incorporate in the divinely ordained patterns of Sinai many of the pre-existing features of heathen temples, without impairing in the least the obligation of Israel to receive them as "divinely prescribed and divinely enjoined," how much more are we not obligated to receive from the hand of God as "divinely prescribed and divinely enjoined" that system of government which embodies only those features of Church polity which have been developed in institutions of his own appointment (Lev. xxiii, 3) among his

* Wilkinson, *Ancient Egypt*, v, 275; Kendrick's *Egypt*, i, p. 460.

† Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, art. "Tabernacle."

own chosen people, and under the immediate supervision of his own inspired teachers, the prophets. 1 Sam. xix, 20; 2 Kings iv, 23; Ezek. xx, 1.

“We are to notice,” says Stillingfleet, “how much our Saviour in the New Testament did delight to take the received practices among the Jews only with such alterations of them as were suitable to the nature and doctrine of Christianity, as hath been abundantly manifested by many learned men, about rites of the Lord’s supper taken from the *post cœnam* (after the supper) among the Jews; the use of baptism, used in initiating proselytes; ex-communication, from their putting out of the synagogue.” “As to which thing,” he continues, “it may be observed that those rites which our Saviour transplanted into the Gospel soil were not such as were originally found in the Mosaic law.”*

Dare any man among us affirm that baptism, the Lord’s supper, etc., “are in no given form obligatory?” that they have “no divine prescription and no divine injunction?” And yet every argument, fact, and principle with which our “reformers” would obscure the divine origin and binding authority of primitive Church government bears with equal force against “the divine prescription and divine injunction” of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s supper. For what our Saviour did in the transference of the latter, inspired apostles commissioned “to bind or loose,” did for the former; they transplanted the names and offices of “deacon” and “elder” from the synagogue, or

* *Iren.*, p. 264.

rather from the old dispensation for the special administration of finance and the general supervision of all the interests of the Church, temporal and spiritual, and that we may know that their action was ratified, "bound in heaven," we have the express declaration of the infallible word that "God hath set governments" "in the Church." 1 Cor. xii, 28. It was not "convenience," "expediency," "decency," or "contingency," but "God."

If ever the principle of expediency was incarnate in opposition to the arrogant claims of "divine right" for the hierarchal forms of episcopacy and papacy, it was in the person of Bishop Stillingfleet. His *Irenicum* never has and never will be answered. And yet no man ever has or ever will present more invincible arguments in behalf of "the divine right of the presbyters" to govern the Church of God.

We respectfully call the attention of all thinkers to his massive and masterly argument in Part II, chap. ii, commencing with these sentences: "The government of the Church ought to be administered by officers of divine appointment." "There must be a standing, perpetual ministry in the Church of God, whose care and employment must be to oversee and govern the people of God, and to administer Gospel ordinances among them, and this is of divine and perpetual right;" and closing with the following: "Thus I have asserted the perpetual divine right of a Gospel ministry, not only for teaching the word, but administration of ordinances and governing the Church as a society, which work belongs to none but such as are appointed for it,

who are the same with the dispensers of the word, as appears from the titles *agoumenoi*, *præsotes*, *poimenes*, 'governors,' 'rulers,' 'pastors,' all which necessarily imply a governing power." *

So far from giving unlimited sweep to the principle of expediency, he very properly subjects it to the following "standing laws for Church government," which may be "applicable to several forms."

"All laws occurrng in Scripture respecting Church government," he tells us, "may be referred to these three heads: (1) Such as set down the qualifications of the persons for the office of government; (2) such as require a right management of their office; and (3) such as lay down rules for the management of their office."

1. "We begin," he says, "with those which set down the qualifications of persons employed in government. These we have largely and fully set down by St. Paul in his order to Timothy and Titus, prescribing what manner of persons those should be who are to be employed in the government of the Church: 'A bishop must be blameless as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker,'" etc.

2. Under the head of "precepts of the Gospel, requiring a right management of the work," he specifies: "Take heed unto all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made you overseers" (Acts xx, 28); "so exhorting, reproving, preaching in season and out of season" (2 Tim. iv, 2); doing all things without "rash

* *Iren.*, pp. 185, 196.

censures" and partiality (1 Tim. v, 21); watching over the flock as they that must give an account; laying hands suddenly on no man; rebuking not an elder, but under two or three witnesses (Heb. xiii, 17; 1 Tim. v, 19, 22); and whatever precepts we read in the epistles of Timothy and Titus.

3. Under the third head of rules he specifies "that no one take this office of preaching without a call, nor go without sending (Heb. v, 2; Rom. x, 14); that offenders be censured and complaints made to the Church in case of scandal; that all things be done decently and in order; that all be done for edification and the common benefit of the Church.* The fact which he very conclusively shows, that all the above "standing laws for the government of the Church" are equally compatible with several specific forms of Church polity, does in no way weaken their power or destroy their value as barriers to that rampant spirit of expediency so rife in our day; a spirit that tramples on every specific Bible law for the ordering of Church polity that would not leave the Lord Jesus a solitary ballot in determining the most momentous issues in the temporal destiny of his Church.

In amazing contrast to the above statesman-like views of Stillingfleet read from one of the lights of the "nineteenth century:" "Look into your New Testament to settle the question of Church government—of the relative rights of clergy and people—what do you find in it? Not a single injunction, except that most general one, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'"

* *Iren.*, pp. 209, 211, 214.

“Christianity thus started untranneled for its career over all the planet and down all the ages!” Admirable! With charts given to the winds, compass and quadrant overboard, with rudder shipped, ballast loosened in the hold, masts and cordage gone, the helpless hulk of the famous old ship Zion, rolling and tumbling in the troughs of every gale of expediency, is just entering upon a voyage “untranneled for its career over all the planet and down all the ages!”

CHAPTER VI.

THE TWELVE APOSTLES ESPECIALLY COMMISSIONED.

WE will now undertake to show that the two special commissions (to preach and to govern) were distinctively given to the twelve apostles in the name of God.

Let us first attend to the special call to preach. Of the great Head of the Church, Mark says: "And he goeth up unto a mountain and calleth unto him whom he would, and he ordained twelve that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach." Chap. iii, 13, 14.

Matthew says: "These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, . . . As ye go preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me." Chap. x, 5-40. Luke says: "He called unto him his disciples, and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles." Chap. vi, 13. "And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God." Chap. ix, 2. In John xv, 16, 27, we read: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and *ordained* you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, . . . and ye also shall *bear witness*, because ye have been with me from the beginning." The solemn reiteration of this great commission is thus made by Him who stood but a step from a universal throne. The place and circumstances

are noted by St. Matthew as follows: "Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him they worshiped, but some doubted. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." Matt. xxviii, 16-20.

If a certain modern exposition of this text has awakened a question as to whether "the great commission" was given to others beside the eleven, St. Mark will answer: "Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen; and he said unto them, Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." Mark xvi, 14, 15.

Language more incisive and authoritative could not be used. The fact that the Saviour "afterward" called "other seventy" only indicates the fact that those who *after the apostles* were to be called to this holy office were to be summoned by the same divine authority.

As to the special commission of the apostles to govern in the Church of God, we call attention, first, to that noted text in Matt. xvi, 18, 19: "I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,

and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Dr. Whedon, than whom there is no profounder thinker in our Church on either side the sea, in his admirable notes upon this passage says: "Authority over the whole (Church) is conferred upon Peter and through him on all the apostles, by bestowing on him and them the keys." "This," he continues, "is according to an ancient custom of surrendering the government of a city or fortress by yielding the keys. Hence the language in Isa. xxii, 22, which is a suitable parallel to these words of our Lord: 'The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open.' Our Lord therefore here confers upon the twelve an *inspired and miraculous* authority and power to *found and govern his Church* after his resurrection by decisions which should be ratified in heaven."

(*In loco*) Adam Clark quotes Dr. Lightfoot as follows: "To this, therefore, these words amount. When the time was come wherein the Mosaic law, as to some part of it, was to be abolished, and as to another part was *to be continued* and to last forever, he granted Peter here and the rest of the apostles (chap. xviii, 18) a *power to abolish or confirm* what they thought good, and *as* they thought good, being taught and led by the Holy Spirit."

Bloomfield, in his notes on the Greek text, says: "The sense will be whatsoever thou shalt forbid to be done, or or whatsoever thou shalt declare lawful, and constitute in

the Church, shall be ratified and hold good with God, including all measures for the government of the Church.”*

“Strictly considered,” says Alford, in his comment on the Greek, “the binding and loosing belong to the power of legislation in the Church committed to the apostles.”

Bishop Taylor says: “This promise was made to Peter first, yet not for himself, but for all the college, and then made a second time to them all without representation, but in diffusion, and performed to all alike except St. Thomas.”†

Dr. Nast says: “We may define the power of the keys, conferred here upon Peter as the representative of the apostles, and afterward expressly declared to belong to all the apostles, to be a twofold power. First, it is what has been called the key of doctrine—that is, the authority to declare for all time to come the conditions of salvation. Secondly, the power of the keys implies what has been called the key of discipline—that is, to determine the terms of membership in the Church on earth; to lay down such laws for the order and government of the Church as to be binding to the end of time. By the apostolical legislation the Church is bound in the administration of discipline, in the admission and exclusion of members. It is only the *word* that binds and looses.”

Let us turn to Matt. xviii, 18, and notice that the only change made in the commission of the apostles is

* See Vitringa, *De Synagoga*, p. 754.

† See Bloomfield *in loco*.

in the substitution of the term “ye” for “thou” in the commission of Peter as their representative.

“Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”

Bishop Bloomfield thus paraphrases these words: “Whatever ye shall determine and appoint respecting such an offender (see verse 17), whether as to his removal from Christian society if obdurate and incorrigible, or his re-admission into it on repentance, I will ratify; and whatever guidance ye ask from heaven in forming those determinations shall be granted you, so that there be two or three that unite in the determination or in the prayer.” “Hence it is obvious that in their primary and strict sense the words and the promise have reference to the apostles alone; however, they may in a qualified sense apply to Christian teachers in every age” (*in loco*).

Richard Watson says: “To understand this passage clearly it is necessary to consider that as the various matters of dispute which would arise among brethren or Christians involved moral questions, and these were to be referred in the last resort to the Church, they must be determined by some fixed and settled rules. Now Christianity is a more perfect dispensation of moral duties as well as of grace. This is proved from our Lord’s Sermon on the Mount and many other of his discourses, where he not only refutes modern errors, but places ancient truths in clearer light, and shows their limitation or expansion more accurately, and adds many others.

This is further confirmed by the moral part of the writings of the apostles, in which all the holy principles laid down in the Old Testament and in the discourses of Christ are drawn out into particular injunctions, and applied to the various personal, civil, and ecclesiastical and social duties incumbent upon Christians.

It was, therefore, necessary, after our Lord, with reference to the discipline to be exercised in his future Church, had prescribed the mode of dealing with offenders, that he should speak of the rules or laws by which all such cases were to be determined, and the source from which they should emanate. These rules or laws were to be brought in by the apostles, to whom the Holy Spirit was to be given, in the plenitude of his inspiration, to bring the doctrines which Christ himself had taught to their remembrance, and to lead them into all truth necessary to complete the Christian system. Now these were to be the sole and only laws by which things were to be bound or loosed, declared lawful or unlawful, binding upon men's consciences or otherwise, and consequently by these rules Christians were to form their private judgment respecting what is right and what is wrong in their various kinds and degrees, and by these same rules the censures or otherwise of the Church were to be solely directed.

These words, therefore, were spoken to the apostles—as indeed was the whole preceding discourse; for the eleven, after they had disputed about superiority by the way, joined Peter and Christ in the house; and the twelve being thus collected, and they only, our Lord

delivers to them the series of addresses which this chapter contains." Expos. Matt. xviii, 18.

Does any man question the authority of the inspired apostles in the Church of God? The Saviour says: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." John xx, 21. "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me." Luke x, 16.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION CONVEYED TO THE ORDAINED
PREACHING ELDERS.

OUR next proposition is that authority to govern in the primitive Church, according to the "bindings and loosings" of the New Testament, was conveyed by the act of inspired apostles to the ordained pastoral or preaching elders who succeeded them in the name of God.

While we are no advocate of "prelatical or apostolic succession," as held either by High-Churchmen or Romanists, we do hold what it seems to us no man in his senses can deny—that to the ordained elders in the primitive Churches, as distinguished from the laity, was given supervisory authority over all the spiritual interests of the Church.

In their especial mission as witnesses of Christ's ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension (see Luke xxiv, 46, 48; Acts i, 21-23; xxii, 14; 1 Cor. ix, 1, 2), for which cause they were called "apostles," they could, of course, have no successors; nor in their capacity as the inspired authors who were to complete the canon of Scripture, for their inspired rulings were to constitute the organic law of the Church to the end of time, binding on earth because ratified in heaven. Nor yet, perhaps, as the possessors of miraculous gifts could they

have had successors, for these, it would seem (2 Cor. xii, 12; Acts ii, 43), were the especial badges or credentials of their apostolic mission. But this they could and did do: they transferred to the ordained and pastoral elders who succeeded them their administrative or supervisory prerogatives; involving, of course, not only executive, but in a minor sense the legislative, functions, at least so far as it should be necessary in devising ways and means for the efficient application of the fundamental and unvarying organic law.

The joint union of the "elders" of the Church at Jerusalem with the apostles, both in the deliberations and promulgation of the authoritative decrees of the first council, binding the Gentile Church for all time, is evidence that "the twelve" had associated them with themselves at least in the administrative functions of the primitive Church. And, indeed, "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ"—the one to whom the keys were especially given (as a representative apostle)—in writing to the "strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia," addressed the "elders" among them as being himself a "co-" or "fellow elder" (*sumpresbuteros*), and "exhorts" them: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight (*piskapountes*) thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." 1 Pet. v, 1, 2.

To the same import is the language of "Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God," in his address to the "elders (*presbuteroi*) of the

Church" of Ephesus gathered at Miletus: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (*episkopous*), to feed the Church of God." Acts xx, 28.

To these presbyters or "elders" (*episkopoi*), "bishops or pastors," who are to "feed the flock of God," the people are exhorted with apostolic solicitude, and commanded by apostolic authority, to be subject.

"And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake." 1 Thess. v, 12, 13. "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow." Heb. xiii, 7. "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief." Verse 17.

It is impossible for Scripture to be more explicit or authoritative, and yet in an age giddy with its own vanities these texts go for nothing. "Look into your New Testaments," says one distinguished advocate, "to settle the question of Church government, of the relative rights of clergy and people, and what do you find in it? Not a single *injunction* except that most general one, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.' "!!!

Now a word as to the origin of the office of "elder" and its significance in the New Testament. John Wesley says, "Try all things by the written word, and let all bow down before it."

Of the prophetic elders ordained of God, we read in Num. xi, 16, 24, 25:

“And the Lord said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee. And Moses went out, and told the people the words of the Lord, and gathered the seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them round about the tabernacle. And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease.”

It is the opinion of Michaelis that this council chosen to assist Moses should not be confounded with the Sanhedrin, which he thinks was not established until after the return from the Babylonish captivity. “The seventy,” he says, “were not chosen to be judges of the people, who had already more than sixty thousand judges.” “It seems,” he says, “more likely to have been his *intention to form a supreme senate to take a share in the government.*”

“We need not assume,” says McClintock and Strong’s Cyclopedia, “that the order was then called into existence, but rather that Moses availed himself of an institution already existing and recognized by his countrymen, and that, in short, ‘the elders of Israel’ (Exod. iii, 16; iv, 29) had been the senate (Sept. *γερονσία*) of the people ever since they had been a people. The posi-

tion which the elders held in the Mosaic constitution is described as the representatives of the people, so much so that elders and people are occasionally used as synonymous terms. Their authority was undefined, and extended to all matters pertaining to the public weal. Nor did the people question the validity of their acts, even when they disapproved of them. Josh. ix, 18. And so they tell us, "The creation of the office of elder is nowhere recorded in the New Testament, as in the case of deacons and apostles, because the latter offices were created to meet new and special emergencies, while the former was transmitted from the earliest times. In other words, the office of elder was the only permanent essential office of the Church under either dispensation." *

"The Jewish eldership, according to this view, was tacitly transferred from the old dispensation to the new, without express or formal institution, except in Gentile churches, where no such office had a previous existence." †

"The elders of the New Testament Church were plainly pastors (Eph. iv, 11), bishops, or overseers (Acts xx, 28), leaders and rulers (Heb. xiii, 7; 1 Thess. v, 12) of the flock." ‡

"But they were not only leaders and rulers, but also the regular teachers of the congregation, to whom pertained officially the exposition of the Scriptures and the preaching of the Gospel." §

As for the idea advanced in some quarters, that some

* *Princeton Review*, xix, 61.

† McClintock & Strong, article "Elder." ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*

of the elders were laymen, we quote from Dr. Hitchcock,* as follows: "The *jure divino* theory of the lay eldership is steadily losing ground." The Westminster Assembly, after a long discussion, refused to adopt Calvin's novel theory of a lay ruling eldership.

For a luminous statement of the whole subject of lay eldership, *with a conclusive proof that there is no trace of it in the New Testament*, see Dr. Hitchcock's article in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1868.

But what is the testimony of the early fathers as to the authority of the ruling elders in the post-apostolic period?

In the "golden remains of Clement Romanus," as the critics say, "great and admirable," "almost on a level with the canonical writings," "this precious relic of later apostolic times," we find the following on the very first page: "For ye walked in all the commandments of God, being obedient to those that had the rule over you, and giving all fitting honor to the presbyters among you."

Again: "Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us; let us esteem those that have the rule over us; let us honor the presbyters among us."—P. 23.

"Let us preserve in the Church the order appointed of God. . . . He has enjoined offerings to be presented and services to be performed to him. Where and by whom he desires these things to be done he himself has fixed by his own supreme will. . . . The laymen bound by laws that pertain to laymen."—P. 36.

* *American Presbyterian Review*, 1868, p. 255.

“Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order, living with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rule of the ministry prescribed to him.”—P. 36.

“Christ was sent forth by God, and the apostles by Christ. Having thus received their orders, they went forth proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities they appointed the first-fruits of their labors, having first proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterward believe.”—P. 37.

“Our apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife on account of the office of the episcopate. For this reason they appointed those ministers already named, and afterward gave instructions that when they should fall asleep other approved men should succeed them in their ministry. We are of opinion, therefore, that those appointed by them or afterward by other eminent men with the consent of the whole Church, and who have blamelessly served the flock of Christ in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested spirit, and have for a long time possessed the good opinion of all, cannot be justly dismissed the ministry; for our sin will not be small if we reject from the episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily fulfilled its duties.”—P. 39.

“It is disgraceful, beloved, highly disgraceful, and unworthy your Christian profession, that such a thing should be heard of as that the most steadfast and an-

of the elders were laymen, we quote from Dr. Hitchcock,* as follows: "The *jure divino* theory of the lay eldership is steadily losing ground." The Westminster Assembly, after a long discussion, refused to adopt Calvin's novel theory of a lay ruling eldership.

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“It is disgraceful, beloved, highly disgraceful, and unworthy your Christian profession, that such a thing should be heard of as that the most steadfast and an-

cient Church of the Corinthians should on account of one or two persons engage in sedition against its presbyters.”—P. 41.

“If on my account sedition and disagreement and schisms have arisen, I will depart. I will do whatever the majority (literally, the multitude) commands, only let the flock of Christ live on terms of peace with the presbyters set over it.”—P. 45.

“Ye therefore who laid the foundation of this sedition submit yourselves to the presbyters and receive correction so as to repent, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside the pride and self-confidence of your tongue.”—P. 48.

There is a general consent among scholars at the present day that we have in the epistle of Polycarp an authentic production of the renowned Bishop of Smyrna. Irenæus, his disciple, tells us that “Polycarp was instructed by the apostles, and was brought into contact with many who had seen Christ.” The epistle opens with—“*Polycarp and the presbyters* with him, to the Church of God sojourning at Philippi.”

“In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of his righteousness, as being the servants of God and Christ, *and not of men.*”

“Let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting with the sick, not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor, abstaining from unjust judgment, not quickly crediting an evil report against any one, not severe in judgment.”

“I am greatly grieved for Valens, who was once a

presbyter among you, because he so little understands the place that was given him in the Church.”*

Mosheim † tells the whole story. “And, indeed, even the bishops themselves, whose opulence and authority were considerably increased since the reign of Constantine, began to introduce gradually innovations into the forms of ecclesiastical discipline, and to change the ancient government of the Church. Their first step was an *entire exclusion of the people* from all part in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; and afterward they by degrees *divested even the presbyters of their ancient privileges and their primitive authority*, that they might have no unfortunate protesters to control their ambition or oppose their proceedings, and principally that they might either engross to themselves, or distribute as they thought proper, the possessions and revenues of the Church.”

Of Church government in the second century he says: “To the bishops and presbyters the ministers or deacons were subject, and the latter were divided into a variety of classes as the different exigencies of the Church required.”‡

Bailly, an eminent Romanist authority, who professes to give the present sentiments of the Church of Rome on this matter, says, after noting the error of Brentius: “The second error is that of Antonins de Dominis, who says ‘that the consent of the whole Church is to be understood not less of the laity than of the presbyters and prelates.’ The third error of certain innovators of our

* *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 72, 73.

† Vol. i, p. 172.

‡ Vol. i, p. 88.

time, namely, the defenders of the Jansenists, who in various writings assert that the clergy of the second rank, or presbyters, as well as bishops, are judges of controversies of faith; . . . that presbyters have by the divine right the power of judging concerning ecclesiastical matters.”*

Do we advocate popery? No! Popery denounces the doctrine we teach, that presbyters elected by the people are the scriptural governors of the Church, not as lords, but always with the consent of the people, as the second and third errors in Church government.

* Lib. I, c. xii, n. 42.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "WESLEYAN AXIOM."

ONE of John Wesley's incidental sayings has been transformed into a fundamental "axiom," and used against the attempts of any man to arrive by prayerful study of the word of God at the thought of the divine mind in respect to the government of the Church. That so-called "axiom" reads thus: "*Neither Christ nor his apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government.*" So far from being axiomatic, self-evident, this maxim has been less understood and more thoroughly misapplied than any other utterance that ever fell from the lips of John Wesley.

If one should listen to the modern expositions of that axiom he would infer that John Wesley believed that neither Christ nor his apostles prescribed *any thing whatever*, either general or particular, in reference to Church government; that the Scriptures are altogether silent on a subject of such moment to the peace and prosperity of the Church. It is time that this, the merest *ghost* of John Wesley's real sentiments, was forever laid.

Gathering up all of that great man's "liberal sayings" upon this subject, and putting all the difficulties at once before us, let us ask, What did John Wesley mean by "particular forms" and "determinate plans?"

The same as general forms? the same as those underlying fundamental principles and relations upon which certain "determinate" forms and detailed "plans" may be *grounded*? What did he mean by the statement that "offices and officers ought to be varied from time to time?" Did he mean that there was no fundamental order of the ministry as distinguished from the various offices and officers which might be appointed by and in that order?—no permanent pastoral ministry with constant relations to the people? Did John Wesley ever hold that it was altogether optional with the Church as to whether there should be any ministry, or any government, or any Church at all?—that it was entirely "optional" as to whether the pastor should rule the flock, or the flock the pastor? Is it possible that John Wesley was never able to discern, or to state distinctly, his views upon the difference there is between the constant and the variable, the obligatory and the optional, the general and the "particular?"

We think not. As Louis Agassiz, the first of scientific men, lecturing on "The Plan of God in Creation for the Government of Nature," was led to say: "As a musician who, taking a familiar tune, should play an endless number of variations upon it, in each of which the fundamental theme may be recognized, so," he says, "the idea of the permanent types is played upon by the almighty Artist, filling the world with variety."* He tells us that "the *types* (of the vertebrate, articulate, mollusk, and radiate) have existed in all times,

* *Animal Life.*

with the *same essential structural elements*, but under *different specific forms* in the several geological periods."* Again, he speaks of the Deity "maintaining the organic plan while constantly diversifying the mode of expressing it."—P. 48. And still again he says, "These still deeper ideal relations—the *plans or structural conceptions* upon which animals are based—are adhered to with a tenacity *in strange contrast to the perishableness of the material forms* through which they are expressed."—P. 43. And yet, strange as it may seem, Agassiz complains that some naturalists fail to discern these distinctions. He tells us that "all their divergence from the simplicity and grandeur of the divisions of the animal kingdom, first reeognized by Cuvier, arises from *their inability* to distinguish between the *essential features of a plan* and its various modes of execution. They allow the *details* to shut out the plan itself, which *exists quite independent of special forms.*"†

Is it possible that God can have in nature a *plan*, broad and deep, general and fundamental, quite independent of special forms? and is it possible that distinguished naturalists have allowed the variable "details to shut out the plan itself," unable to distinguish between "the essential features and the various modes of its execution?" Then it is *possible* that God may have in Church government a *plan*, broad and deep, general and fundamental, quite independent of special forms. Then it is possible that late theologians should allow details to shut out the plan itself, and this from "their

* *Sketches*, p. 32.

† *Natural History*.

perpetual ministry in the Church of God, whose care and employment must be to oversee and govern the people of God, and to administer Gospel ordinances among them; and this is of divine and perpetual right." And after proving at great length the perpetuity of the Christian ministry, he concludes his invincible argument with these unambiguous words: "Thus I have now asserted the perpetual divine right of a Gospel ministry, not only for teaching the word, but administration of ordinances and governing the Church as a society, which belongs to none but such as are appointed for it, who are the same with the dispensers of the word, as appears from the titles, *ηγουμενοι* (*agoumenoi*), *προϊσταμενοι* (*proistamenoi*), *ποιμενεις* (*poimenes*), governors, rulers, pastors, all which necessarily imply a governing power."

Language more unqualified, sharp, and incisive could not be used, evidencing beyond the possibility of a question that this "axiom," as drawn from Stillingfleet direct, had not the slightest possible reference to the fundamental obligation laid by the Holy Ghost upon the pastoral ministry to govern, and upon the laity to submit to "them that have the rule over" them "in the Lord."

Stillingfleet, Wesley, and Emory had sole reference to the "particular forms" and "determinate plans" upon which the pastoral "governors of the Church" might agree in the exercise of an authority enjoined of God.

Jackson, in his *Life of Charles Wesley*, in commenting on the "axiom" says: "What John Wesley ob-

jected to was the assumption that diocesan episcopacy, possessing the exclusive power of ordination and government, was instituted by Christ, and is binding in all ages upon the universal Church of Christ."—P. 722. Or, as he might perhaps more justly have said, that Wesley objected to the exclusive pretensions of any determinate "form" or "plan" "agreed on by the governors of the Church." Stillingfleet wrote especially to allay the fury of the contest between the pretentious Episcopacy on the one hand, and the equally exclusive Presbyterians and Independents on the other—a contest styled by Baxter the *Bellum Episcopi* (War of the Bishops); a war second only to that which, according to John Milton, took place in heaven when archangels met "addressed for fight unspeakable;" a war that placed the heavy heel of the anti-Episcopal Cromwell upon the neck of that most zealous of all prelatical advocates among kings, Charles I.; a war whose thunders have shaken all Europe to its center, the last dying dissonances of which have been so recently rocking the very foundations of the meekest of all episcopates—less even than presbyterial "bishops!" "bishops," without even the prerogative of a layman—a vote in making "rules and regulations" for the government of the Church of God.

If there yet remains the slightest doubt as to the significance of the "Wesleyan axiom," let us turn directly to John Wesley himself. What did he mean by that "axiom?" That every thing in Church government was optional? every thing at the dictate of expediency or convenience? nothing prescribed? nothing enjoined?

no divine constants? no general, fundamental, and conservative principles underlying the radical progress of the Church through the ages?

What did John Wesley think and write about the order of pastoral elders? That will take close care of the "axiom" forever! We thank God that he has left on record clear and decisive statements.

1. He never held that the pastoral ministry were simply the executive officers of the people, deriving their sole authority or power from them, and simply responsible to them. John Wesley said: "The supposition that the people are the origin of power is every way indefensible. Common sense brings us back to the grand truth—there is no power but of God."*

2. He never held that the laity or the people possessed sole authority to commission elders as preachers of the word. On Matt. x, 5, he says: "These twelve Jesus sent forth, herein exercising his supreme authority as God, and none but God can give men authority to preach his word."†

3. He never held that the people had, either by nature or Scripture, sole authority or power to constitute their rulers in the Church. In his note on Acts xx, 17, "Take heed to yourselves," etc., he thus paraphrases the language of the apostle: "I now devolve my care upon you, first to yourselves, and then to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers; for no man or number of men can constitute an overseer, bishop, or any other Christian minister: to do this is the peculiar work of the Holy Ghost."

* *Works*, vol. vi, p. 270.

† *Notes, in loco.*

Thus it appears that John Wesley held that the ministry—the pastoral elders called of God and elected by the people—were the rulers of the Church, and that this was of perpetual and divine obligation. In support of this proposition he frequently appealed to "the oracles of God," and taught that the *optional* in Church government is the domain over which the Scriptures have enthroned the pastor, elder, or bishop.

"The sum is," he says, "it is the duty of every private Christian to obey his spiritual pastor, by either doing or leaving undone any thing of an indifferent [that is, optional] nature—that is, any thing in no way determined in the word of God. But how little is this understood in the Protestant world! . . . And yet there is not a more express command, either in the Old or New Testament. No words can be more clear and plain; no command more direct and positive."*

And yet "these words, clear and plain; this command, direct and positive," by clothing the pastor with authority in all things, indifferent or optional, carries his prerogative as "*legislator*" over the whole field of "rules and regulations" in the spiritual administration of the Church—a field bounded on the one hand by what God has positively commanded, and on the other by what God has expressly forbidden. Thus the "Wesleyan axiom," so far from giving freedom *from* the Scriptures in Church government, as most have strangely supposed, gives freedom only *to* the book, sets us face to face with the open word, and bids

* *Ser.*, vol. ii, p. 327.

us *bound* our liberties, our option, by the changeless law of the Lord. John Wesley says: "*Try every thing by the written word*; let all bow down before it." Luther: "God speaks, men, worms listen—let us all bow down and kiss the word." And Chrysostom: "Hear, O all ye *laymen*! provide yourselves with the Holy Scriptures, that medicine of the soul."

CHAPTER IX.

THE THINGS FORBIDDEN TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE CHURCH.

LET us now, in the very spirit of this “axiom,” take prayerful note of the particulars in which the optional freedom of the “*governors of the Church*” is bounded:

We will first look at the positive *prohibitions of the word*. The pastoral elders are *forbidden* to “lord it over God’s heritage”—

1. To lord it over the bodies of men, to restrain the person or liberty of the laity. Such penal sanctions belong to the civil magistracy alone. That which is commended in the State is positively forbidden in the Church, evidencing the measureless remove of the Church from the province and principles of the State. “The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. *But it shall not be so among you.* But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister” (*διακονος*—literally, “one dusty from running,” a genuine itinerant!) “and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant” (*δουλος*—literally, a slave, a term expressive of the most abject devotion to the interests of the laity). It is to be a ministry of *service*, not of *domination*. But this even does not express the depths to which, in our loving service, all are to go

down; for the brethren (the laity) are themselves the slaves (the *douloi*) of Jesus. "For he that is called, being free, is Christ's *doulos*." 1 Cor. vii, 22, 23. That is it: *the slave of slaves*; the free, self-devoted, loving slaves of those who are themselves the loving, devoted slave of the Master. But only so far as that; no bondage to mere majorities—to the will of man. God thunders: "*Be ye not the douloi of men!*"

Here we touch the native rock—the broad, fundamental, eternal rock of disinterested love on which the Church of Jesus stands—the ministry and the laity in mutual, loving, self-sacrificing devotion, as the *douloi* of Jesus and of each other, but *each in the functions assigned by the Master, Christ*.

The Church of Jesus is a personality, a spiritual selfhood, a moral organism, "the body of Christ," in which every function is to be performed by its own appropriate organ.

Of "Him who ascended up on high, far above all heavens, who led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men," it is written: "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for' the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: . . . that we may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." Eph. iv, 8-16. "Now God hath set the members every one

of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. 1 Cor. xii, 18. "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers?" Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret?" 1 Cor. xii, 27-29. "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another. Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; *he that ruleth, with diligence.*" Rom. xii, 4-8.

This is the foundation fact: every member of Christ's body is Christ's *doulos*, to do the will of the great Head of the Church. It is not "optional" with us what place in this sublime organic structure we may occupy. The will of Christ, and self-sacrificing devotion to that will—not democratic pride nor thirst for power—shall determine our sphere. There should be no domination, no usurpation, either by minorities or majorities; but each should submit himself to God. "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of *faithful* men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered, *according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite*

to the same."* And such a Church, organized according to the "ordinance of Christ," operating through its divinely appointed agencies or organs, "may ordain, change, or abolish rites and ceremonies, . . . so that nothing be ordained against God's word."†

2. Again, ministers are not to lord it over the consciences of men. "Call no man *καθηγητης* (ruler of the conscience), for one is your Master, even Christ." And yet God's word, Christ's law, which alone binds the conscience, enjoins obedience to pastors in all things "optional," or where conscience is not concerned, "so that nothing be ordained against God's word." The twenty-second article of our religion sets forth this distinction with great clearness: "Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the (optional) rites and ceremonies of the Church to which he belongs, which are not repugnant to the word of God, and *are approved by common authority*, ought to be rebuked openly that others may fear," etc.

In all matters, however, where conscience is concerned, there no human authority must intervene; there the rights, the integrity of the responsible soul must be respected; there the judgment must assert for itself; there the pure reason, to which God appeals, must vindicate its godlike prerogative, and, lifting itself above the domination of all powers, whether of majorities or autocracies, it must decide as in the sight of God, and with reference to the awards of an eternity.

To such souls, enfranchised of God, the ministry are

* *Methodist Discipline.*

† *Ibid.*

to come not with inquisitorial terrors, but with the joyous, robust spirit of free inquiry. Thoughts, not thumbscrews; facts, not fagots; reason, not racks; demonstrations, not death — these are the agencies by which a divinely commissioned ministry are to reach and sway the free and independent judgments of the world — the self-poised wills and the quickened consciences of the race. As inviolate as the conscience of the laity, so must the conscience of the ministry be. Let no majorities bar that conscience.

3. The ministry are forbidden to lord it over the hopes and fears of men by ruling with *hierarchical* powers. The *hiereis*, or sacerdotal priests, called by the Hebrews *cohenim*, “were appointed for the express purpose of offering sacrifices in the name and on behalf of the people. They alone were allowed to make oblations and burn incense before the Lord, and *only through them were the people to approach him.*”*

The usurpation of governmental powers by men clothed with the awful terrors of so sacred an office has always resulted in the most fearful despotisms known in the annals of mankind. A hierarchy is the most unscriptural of all governments, hostile alike to the spirit of both dispensations. Nothing could be more offensive to God. Hear the word of the Lord: “A wonderful and *horrible thing* is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so and what will he do in the end thereof?” Jer. v, 30, 31.

“The rulers of the Church under the Gospel,” says

* Archbishop Whately, *Brit. Cyclop.*, vol. i.

Stillingleet, "do not properly succeed the priests and the Levites under the law." * "The Levitical caste," says Stanley, "never corresponded to what we should call the clergy. They (the priests) *never claimed nor were intended to govern the nation.*"† And yet the cry, Hierarchy! hierarchy! (the rule of *priests*,) has been rung out over all the Church. A *hierarchy*! the simple rule of the *presbuteroi* (not the *hiereis*), called of God, and elected by the people. Amazing! The only "hierarchy" of which we have knowledge in Methodism to-day—the rule of the *hiereis*—"clothed in pontifical robes," is that of the so-called "*priesthood of the people*," who claim the right to rule the Church of God by *virtue* of their sacerdotal or priestly functions! "The priesthood of the people," says *the* authority, "is the dogmatic basis of the lay movement." What! when "*priests* were never intended to govern!" when a hierarchy—the government of priests—is so justly offensive to both God and man! Amazing! And yet on this "*bridge of fog*" the "lay movement" has gone over: "A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land! the priests bear rule, and the people love to have it so!"

No, the *hiereis*, the *cohenim*, the Levitical priests were never the rulers. The *zakenim*, "the elders of Israel," says Dr. Strong's Cyclopaedia, "had been the (*γερονσία*) senate of the people ever since they had been a people. The position which the elders held in the Mosaic constitution is described as that of *representatives of the people*, so much so that the elders and

* *Irenicum*, p. 228.

† *Jewish Church*, p. 176.

people are occasionally used as equivalent terms. Their authority was undefined, and extended to all matters pertaining to the public weal; nor did the people question the validity of their acts even when they disapproved of them." "The creation of the office of elder is nowhere recorded in the New Testament, as is the case of deacons and apostles, because the latter offices were created to meet new and special emergencies, while the former was transmitted from the earliest times. In other words, the office of the *elder was the only permanent essential office of the Church under either dispensation.*" The distinguished doctor goes on to say, "The elders of the New Testament were plainly pastors (Eph. iv, 11), bishops, or overseers (Acts xx, 28), leaders and *rulers* (Heb. xiii, 7, 17) of the flock. . . . But they were not only leaders and rulers, but also the regular teachers of the congregation, to whom pertained officially the exposition of the Scriptures and the preaching of the Gospel!" Therefore all hail the lay movement—the priesthood of the people!

"The world has gone mad, my masters!"

The "priesthood of believers," as set forth in the Scriptures, is a glorious doctrine, and we would like to aid our friends in "scattering it like lightning over all the heavens of the Church." As the original etymology of the term *cohen* in Arabic and Hebrew would indicate, it is the exalted privilege of the priesthood of the people "to draw near" the divine presence—to enter the holiest of holies by the blood of Jesus, and to prevail with God. This is the ladder Jacob saw reach-

ing unto heaven, but is no bridge to earthly rule. It is the devout prostration of the soul before God, not the domination of man over man.

To those who have set forth this general priesthood of believers as incompatible with a special ministry we would simply refer them to Exod. xix, 5, 6: "If ye will obey my voice and keep my covenant, then ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Did this general priesthood of the people in the time of Moses preclude a special priesthood then? Why should it preclude a special ministry now? It mortifies me very much to be compelled to say that the antagonism of a general priesthood of the people to the authority of the elders called of God to govern in the Church dates back to a very high antiquity. "And they rose up before Moses, with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown: and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, *Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?* Num. xvi, 2, 3. God immediately gave to all Israel, in the fate of these distinguished advocates, some lessons as to the merit of such movements against the authority of those whom God "hath chosen," the salutary effects of which seem to have been quite lost of late. Perhaps the Lord has changed! Perhaps the whole grand series of object lessons which taught the world that God was attentive to *every thing* in the

old dispensation—that “every pin of the tabernacle was important”—was only to demonstrate to us that the great Head of the Church under the Gospel *cares for nothing!*

4. Again, the ministry have no authority to lord it over the private rights of the laity. In all cases of *trespass* Jesus has impaneled the whole Church as *jurors*. Christ ordains, let every man be tried before his peers. But who would affirm that because of the juror right in a case of trespass, therefore every member of the Church or State is a legislator to enact, an official judge to expound the law, or to pronounce judgment in the case? The sentence, “Let him be to *thee* as a heathen and a publican,” carries the mind to a conclusion at once in perfect harmony with the entire scope of Scripture, and presents us here again with the spiritual personality of the Church, a moral organism, performing its appropriate functions through its own divinely appointed organs.

5. The ministry are forbidden “to lord it” over the *finances* of the laity. The right of taxation belongs to the State, not to the Church. It is only in those abnormal and execrable unions of Church and State that the arbitrary may supplant the voluntary principle which lies at the very foundations of all scriptural Church movements. God, the alone proprietor, has the sole right to tax the clergy and the laity; God only can ordain that every member of the Church shall “lay by him in store as God hath prospered him.” “Say I these things as a man?” asks Paul, “or saith not the law the same also? For it is written in the law of

Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? . . . Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so *hath the Lord ordained* that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." 1 Cor. ix, 8, 9, 13, 14. "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things." Gal. vi, 6.

From these enactments of the Lord ministers have no authority to absolve the laity.

And yet, forsooth, it is declared that "the General Conference has enacted a new and unscriptural condition of Church membership;" that the General Conference has proceeded to "tax the membership;" and that "laymen ought at once to be admitted;" that if Dr. Bond and Bishop Emory, these old veterans in opposition, were but to come to life under the new order of things "they would declare at once for lay delegation," and, flinging out their banners, would head the column of laymen, and charge for the very center of the General Conference, etc. We are alarmed! What new condition? What "act" of taxation? What new order of things?

"*Quest.* Will you contribute of your earthly substance according to your ability (as God hath prospered you) to the support of the Gospel and the various benevolent enterprises of the Church?" "*Ans.* I will." "A new condition!" Our editors surely never could have read that most brilliant epitome of our faith and prac-

tice given by one of the mothers in Israel, so often quoted on Wesleyan platforms in England: "Methodism—it is repentance toward God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, a penny a week, and a shilling a quarter." "A new condition!" That old lady's spirit should have been aroused. She should have expressed her mind. "Organs" should have been established, documents circulated, conventions held, and a revolution on the "no representation no taxation" basis inaugurated, and short work have been made with John Wesley. "A new condition!" If there ever was an impression epidemic in all Methodistic space, and chronic in all Methodistic history, it is the impression that there is *no end* to Methodistic giving! But, seriously, have our preachers recourse to the law for the collection of their salaries? Are the assessments upon the members made by ministers? Do the laymen now coming in propose to tax the laity, and to enforce collection by the secular arm? Could Dr. Bond or Emory, rising from their hallowed graves, pronounce a benediction upon a procedure so preposterous? Alas this is but another arch of the "bridge of fog" fallen through!

6. The ministry are forbidden to usurp the secular functions of the laity, especially enjoined upon them by the word of God. Read carefully Acts vi, 2-7, and you will learn how "seven men (laymen) of honest report" were by the divinely inspired apostles appointed over all the temporal business of the Church.

7. The ministry have no lordly power to prevent the exercise of the theo-democratic right of the laity to choose their own spiritual pastors or rulers.

In Alford's English *New Testament* Acts xiv, 23, is thus rendered: "And when they had elected them elders in every church," etc.; and in his notes on the Greek text he says, "Nor is there any reason for departing from the usual meaning of electing by show of hands," and adds, "The apostles may have admitted by ordination those presbyters whom the churches elected" (*in loco*).

The New Testament method allows God to cast the first ballot, the people themselves being judges of the evidences of the divine call; and such a one, so chosen by the suffrages of the whole Church, is as emphatically the representative of the people as though he were not by virtue of his divine call "the glory of Christ." Fully conscious of the powerful and constant pressure of the democratic sentiment in our free country, which has at last brought the leading writers of our Church to-day into direct and almost unanimous conflict with all the great founders of Methodism—nay, more, that has brought the authoritative action of the Church to the solemn objurgation of the very principles upon which the Church was organized—we can but express our profoundest regrets that our leaders had not sought to harmonize our polity not only with the spirit of the age, but with the eternal principle of God's word, not by denying to the eldership the authority which all our fathers believed they held by divine right, but by a thorough examination of the theo-democratic basis on which that authority rests. Would to heaven that we had begun to modify our system at the other extreme by rendering to the people, to the entire adult member-

ship, what we have consistently held theoretically from the beginning to be their right, the right to choose their rulers, their elders, their presbyters or bishops, those whom the people believe are fully qualified and called of God to that responsible work !

8. Lastly, the ministry have no lordly power or authority to bar the laity from the performance of their legitimate functions in the General Councils of the Church. The laity were present in the first General Council—in all the great councils—of the primitive Church, but with their own peculiar functions.*

So the laity by right ought to be present in the General Councils or Conferences of Methodism, and their voices should be heard if they so desire in all the deliberations of the Church, but according to the plan and will of God.

* For proof see Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER X.

THE OPTIONAL IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

FROM this brief survey of the limitations of our liberties we may safely lay down the following propositions:

1. It is optional with the people either to exercise or not to exercise an evident scriptural right—a right Methodism has always acknowledged—a right to participate more generally in the primary election of all our Church rulers.

2. It is optional with the members of the Church, according as in their godly judgment the secular interests of the Church may require, either to enter or refrain from entering the Annual or General Conferences. If in their judgment the secular interests of the Church are suffering through their absence, they ought to demand admittance, for they are charged especially with the department of secularities, and “it is required of stewards that a man be found faithful.”

3. It would not be optional with the presbyters to refuse to accede to this demand, for the word places on them the especial care of all secularities in the Church.

4. It is, however, optional with the presbyters, as they have been called and elected to the general oversight of all the interests of the Church, as to

whether this department should be organized as a separate house, or as a committee of their own body especially charged with the ministration of finance.

5. It is optional with the body of the Presbytery or *governors* of the Church, as it shall seem expedient, either to retain all governing power as a senate of elders, as a committee of the whole, or to organize in separate committees with distinctive functions. In other words, it is optional with the *presbyters* to enact any "particular form," any "determinate plan," of Church government consonant to the general rules of Scripture, with such "offices and officers" as they may deem expedient.

6. It is optional with the presbyters to delegate to one or more of *their own number*—not to the people—for a limited time, or during effective service, one or more of the scriptural functions of the presbytery, for the good of the Church; but it is not optional with even a majority of the presbyters to deprive a presbyter in good standing of any prerogatives against his will. Our bishops, as scriptural presbyters in *order* and general superintendents in *office*, cannot be lawfully denied a voice in making rules and regulations for the government of the Church of God.

7. It would be optional for the presbyters, if they saw expedient for the safety of the Church against hasty legislation, to divide their own number into two houses. It would be optional to so divide that either one half of the bishops should be in each house, or so that one body might appropriately be styled the House of

General Superintendents, and the other the House of Presbyters.

8. It would also be optional with the bishops and presbyters to associate with them a third house of the laity, but not, as in the Episcopal Church, with power to bar the action of both the houses of bishops and presbyters. That would be in direct violation of the fundamental principles of scriptural Church government; that would do violence to the constitution of the Methodist Church as it has existed from the beginning; a virtual uprooting and upturning of the ecclesiastical tree as Christ planted it, placing blossoms and fruit under the soil with roots in the air.

9. It would be optional for the General Conference at any time to organize, as Bishop Ames at the last General Conference suggested with thoroughly statesmanlike views, in two houses, with concurrent powers on all subjects excepting "ministerial administration and character;" or, if it should be thought expedient, it will be optional to organize *three* houses with concurrent powers on all subjects, yet saving the scriptural and Methodist principle of pastoral authority, by making the concurrence of but two houses necessary to complete an action—the responsibility of every action, of course, resting with one or the other of the clerical bodies. In case of the organization of three concurrent houses, the initiative in all measures relating to moral discipline, ministerial administration and the ritual should be with the House of Presbyters; the initiative in all measures relating to finance, publishing interests, etc., should originate in the House of Lay Representa-

tives; the House of General Superintendents, as the chief pastors of the Church, alone having a negative upon the action of the House of Lay Representatives.

In favor of such an optional organization we urge the following considerations:


1. It saves the fundamental principles of the Holy Scripture relating to the duty of the Christian ministry, as the *douloi* of Jesus Christ, to serve the Church as its pastoral governors.

2. It will save not only the spirit of the Wesleyan axiom, but the very organic spirit of Methodism, as embodied by John Wesley, John Fletcher, Richard Watson, John Emory, and Dr. Bond—the authoritative rule of pastors called of God and elected by the people, a principle worth saving.


3. It can save us our reproach in a thoroughly democratic age. (a) Let the right of elective franchise be extended to the entire adult membership in all our primary elections to the Annual Conferences, so that our preachers recommended for admission and our laymen sent up shall alike be the representatives of the people. (b) Let all members of the Annual Conferences, lay and clerical, join in the election of all delegates to the General Conference, so that these delegates, both clerical and lay, shall be the recognized representatives of the people in the “law-making” body of the Church, but each in the field of their own respective responsibilities. (c) Let these representatives of the people unite in the election of all bishops and other officers of the General Conference, and by thus constituting our bishops themselves “the messengers,” “the chosen of the Churches,”

as well as “the glory of Christ,” we shall secure a genuine representation of the people in every branch of our legislative councils. Who is it that maintains that the ministry is a *caste*, and cannot, therefore, represent the people? “If any, speak; for him have I offended.”

4. It will save us from bitterness and ceaseless conflicts. The spirit of *antagonism* is in “the plan”—incorporate and constitutional. The poison of asps is there: jealousy shall express it, and ambition shall project it into the very soul of the Church, poisoning its life currents, and leading ultimately to the utter dissolution of the body.

5. It will save us from the odium of lay popery, *possible* under the present plan of organization. “At all times when the General Conference is met, it shall take two thirds of the *whole number* of ministerial and lay delegates to form a quorum for the transaction of business.”  It does not say two thirds of either order *elect*, but “two thirds of the whole number.” (!!) “The whole number of ministerial and lay delegates” in the present body is 421, of whom 292 are clerical and 129 are lay. Two thirds of this “whole number” is $280\frac{2}{3}$, a “quorum.” With 280 ministerial delegates and one lay delegate present we have 281, or one third of *one* more than “two thirds of the whole number,” (!) and with this “quorum” the body is ready, of course, for the “transaction of business.” (!) But the ministerial and lay delegates “shall vote separately whenever such separate vote shall be demanded by one third of either order (in the *quorum*, of course), and in such cases the

concurrent vote of both orders shall be necessary to complete an action." (!!)



It is nowhere said, whenever such separate vote shall be demanded by one third of the *whole number elected* in either order; and, indeed, *as seen above*, such a construction is not at all necessary to secure a "quorum." So, if one third of this layman in excess of the "quorum" shall demand a separate vote, and two thirds of him "*refuse to concur!*" we have at least in this *possible* instance the only *possible pope* in Methodism, barring, by his individual will, not only the scriptural authority of the 280 ministerial delegates, but through them the ten thousand ministers of the Methodist Church. And this is demoeraey! this is what is meant by "no distinctions!" O! it's only the "nineteenth century!" A lay pope possible! and you "accept the situation?" "Yes," "yes;" two hundred and ninety times "yes." Talk of an "eternity" as too long for opposition to such a "plan?" No, sir. "Αἰῶνας των αἰώνων"—"For ever *and* for ever."

6. It will save us from the evils that inevitably inhere in all singly constituted deliberative bodies, and which, in a body like ours, under such a pressure of business and limited in time, must be enhanced to an alarming degree.

The law-making bodies of the several States of our American Union have set examples which we will do well to follow. The Legislatures of Pennsylvania and Georgia consisted originally of a single house. "The instability and passion," says Chancellor Kent, "which marked their proceedings were very visible at the time, and the subject of much public animadversion; and in

the subsequent reform of their constitutions the people were so sensible of this defect, and of the inconvenience they had suffered from it, that in both States a senate was introduced. No portion of the political history of mankind is more full of instructive lessons on this subject, or contains more striking proofs of the faction, instability, and misery of States under the dominion of a single unchecked assembly, than that of the Italian republics of the Middle Ages, which arose with great numbers, and with dazzling but transient splendor, in the interval between the fall of the Western and the Eastern empires of the Romans. They were all alike ill-constituted, with a single unbalanced assembly. They were all alike miserable, and all ended in similar disgrace. Many speculative writers and theoretical politicians about the time of the commencement of the French Revolution were struck with the simplicity of a legislature with a single assembly, and concluded that more than one house was useless and expensive. . . . The visionary notions [this is still Chancellor Kent] of a single house of the legislature were carried into the constitution by the French Assembly in 1791. 'The very nature of things,' said the intemperate and cruel politicians of that assembly, 'was adverse to every division of the legislative body, and that as the nation which was represented was one, so the representative body ought to be one also. The will of the nation was indivisible, and so ought to be the voice that pronounced it.' By such reasoning the Assembly of France, consisting of upward of one thousand members, after a short and tumultuous debate, almost unan-

imously voted to reject the proposition for an upper house. The same false and vicious principles continued for some time longer to prevail with the theorists of that country, and a single house was likewise established in the plan of government for 1793. The instability and violent measures of that convention, which continued for some years to fill all Europe with astonishment and horror, tended to display in a most forcible and affecting light the miseries of a single unchecked body of men clothed with all the legislative power of the State." *

"No people," says Boisy d'Anglas in 1795, "can testify to the world with more truth and sincerity than Frenchmen can do the dangers inherent in a single legislative assembly, and the disastrous point to which factions may mislead an assembly without reins or counterpoise."

The theories and consequent convulsions of the French National Assembly led John Adams to give to the world his great work entitled, *A Defense of the American Constitution*, a work of immense learning, research, and ability. After reviewing the history of every known government with especial reference to this point, he gives us the sum of all in the conclusion: "Single assemblies without check or balance in a government, with all authority collected into one center, have been visionary, violent, intriguing, corrupt, and tyrannical dominations of majorities over minorities."

"Under the Confederation," says Chief Justice Story, "the whole legislative power of the Union was

* Kent's *Commentary*, p, 122.

confined to a single branch, and, limited as that power was, this concentration of it in a single body was deemed a prominent defect. The Constitution, on the other hand, adopts as a fundamental rule the exercise of the legislative power in two distinct and independent branches. The advantages of this division are, in the first place, that it interposes a check upon undue, hasty, and oppressive legislation. In the next place, it interposes a barrier against the strong propensity of all public bodies to accumulate all power, patronage, and influence in their own hands. In the next place, it operates indirectly to retard, if not wholly to prevent, the success of the efforts of a few popular leaders, by their combinations and intrigues in a single body, to carry their own personal, private, or party objects into effect, unconnected with the public good. In the next place, it secures a deliberate review of the same measures by independent minds in different branches of government engaged in the same habits of legislation, but organized upon a different system of elections. In the last place it affords greater securities to public liberty, by requiring the co-operation of different bodies which can scarcely ever, if properly organized, embrace the same sectional or local interests or influences in exactly the same proportion as a single body. The value of such a separate organization will, of course, be greatly enhanced the more the elements of which each body is composed differ from each other in the mode of choice, in the qualifications, and in the duration of office of members; provided due intelligence and virtue are secured in each body. All these consid-

erations had great weight in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States." *

De Lolme, in his great work on the English Constitution, says: "For securing the Constitution of the State it is indispensably necessary to restrain the legislative authority; and the legislature to be restrained must be absolutely divided; for whatever laws it may make to restrain itself, they never can be, relatively to it, any thing more than simple resolutions. As those bars which it might erect to stop its own motions must then be within it and rest upon it, they can be no bars. But each of the parts into which the legislature is divided can serve as bars to the motions of the others. If it has been divided into only two parts, it is probable that they will not in all cases unite either for doing or undoing. If it has been divided into THREE PARTS, the probability that no changes will be made is greatly increased. Nay, more, as a kind of point of honor will naturally take place between these different parts of the legislature, they will therefore be led to offer to each other only such propositions as will, at least, be plausible, and all very prejudiced changes will thus be prevented, as it were, before their birth."—P. 231.

7. The life-tenure of our bishops in one of the co-ordinate branches of the "legislature" will save us from fickle and capricious legislation. Let Alexander Hamilton—"the genius who," according to Guizot, "most powerfully contributed to introduce into the Constitution of the United States every element of order, of force, and of duration in it," and "who must

* Story on Constitution, p. 50.

be classed among the men who have best known the vital principles and fundamental conditions of government worthy of the name"—let him speak for us: "The objects of government may be divided into two general classes—the one depending on measures which have singly an immediate and sensible operation; the other depending on a succession of well-chosen and well-connected measures which have a gradual and, perhaps, unobserved action. The importance of the latter description to the collective and permanent welfare of every country needs no explanation. And yet it is evident that an assembly elected for so short a term as to be unable to provide more than one or two links in a chain of measures on which the general welfare may essentially depend ought not to be answerable for the final result. The proper remedy for this defect must be an additional body in the legislative department, which, having a sufficient permanency to provide for such objects as require a continued attention and a train of measures, may be justly and effectually answerable for these objects." *

8. While the division of the conference into three houses will secure the delay necessary to perfect each individual measure, yet, on the principle that underlies the practical wisdom of a division of labor in the aggregate, we shall save time. This, however, to those whose souls are more burdened for the present and future welfare of the Church than for any personal interests, will be but a secondary consideration. Better cut down the representation, and fill the delegations

* *Federalist*.

with men who can and will take time before unsettling the very foundations of the Church—time to weigh the value of every proposed change; time to perfect every measure; time to bring all its legislation into symmetrical oneness and harmony with the organic genius of the Church; time to save us from the opprobrium that must more or less attach to every single assembly on the “*mass-meeting*” principle.

This is the great transition movement. “The past, at least, is secure;” the future, with all the burden of untried experiments, is at our doors. O, could we shape the coming events into harmony with the organic life of the Church, the future would be as secure as the past! The triumphs of the last century would be repeated, and, re-enforced by the vigorous body of devout and gifted laymen, especially in the department assigned them in the word of God and in the providential demands of the hour, we would sweep a wider field of conquest for Jesus in the century to come. For such a re-enforcement we lift up hand and voice, and to the approaching column of laymen, loyal to the scriptural and Methodistic politics of the past, we shout “All hail!” My recorded vote in favor of the change of the restrictive rule, indorsing the principle of a scriptural and Methodistic lay delegation, gave me, as I have said, “boundless pleasure;” but for such a coming as *shall bar the Christian ministry in the fulfillment of their great commission* I have no words of welcome. For such tactics as shall give one division of Immanuel’s army a “*dead lock*” upon another division while obeying the orders of the great Captain on the

field of battle, I never can say "Aye." *Re-enforcements*, not opponents, in the camp is the demand of the hour. God's providence, God's word, the clergy and people, have all called the laity to enter the councils of the Church, but not, thank God! under the provisions of the plan proposed. A plan so odious, indeed, that it was only barely possible to carry the principle of lay delegation burdened with it by the trifling majority of forty-four; and this only on reiterated assurances that "a plan for the introduction and *duties* [of laymen] must be enacted" by the General Conference before they could come in—a promise, at least by implication, of deliberation on the plan before its enactment; so odious, that several Conferences, while voting for the principle of lay delegation, expressed, in resolutions, their utter disapprobation of "the plan;" so odious, that the Michigan Conference repudiated the plan unanimously by report*—so that if in any sense the plan was ever submitted to Conference action it failed, through the action of the Michigan Conference alone, by just fifty ministerial votes, for its ninety-four "aye" votes for change of the restrictive rule must be

* The Michigan Conference said: "1. The vote we cast is solely upon the change of the restrictive rule. 2. We do not indorse the plan proposed by the General Conference for our consideration. 3. While it is a matter of regret that the vote of the people is not larger, yet we regard the decisive majority of the votes cast in favor of lay delegation as indicative of an extensive desire on the part of the people for a system of lay delegation. 4. We declare ourselves not only not opposed to, but in favor of, a scheme of lay delegation which shall not interfere with the divinely designated authority of the Christian ministry."

deducted from the column in favor of the plan; so odious, that we call upon every lover of the Scripture, every admirer of Methodistie polity, every advocate of a genuine democracy, to unite with us in a vigorous and persistent crusade against its utterly unmethodistic and utterly undemocratic features. Let us, in God's name, save our true and loyal laity to the councils of the Church; but let us, in the name of all that is sacred, *extirpate the plan!*

In its stead let us build up a great system which, while it shall conserve the fundamental principles of scriptural and Wesleyan Church polity, shall "optionally" adjust its "particular form" to the democratic spirit of the age; a system which shall so distribute the initiative functions of the legislative body on the division of labor principle as to secure the fullest benefits of the peculiar experience, education, and gifts of our distinguished laymen and clergy in their respective departments, where each shall be especially strongest in the service of the Church, and yet with such a concurrency of powers as shall constitute an impregnable rampart against the waves of popular excitement—a dike that shall say to the turbid sea of radicalism, "Hitherto thou shalt come, but no further."

"Ezekiel's vision," we have been told, "was a vision of Methodism," and there are at least some striking analogies between them: "A fire infolding itself;" "And the living creatures ran and returned like lightning;" "And when they went I heard the noise of their wings like the noise of great waters;" "And their appearance and work was as it were a wheel in

the middle of a wheel." Yes, here are wings of love and the wheels of organic power. But let us see what is necessary to complete the picture: "And above their heads was the likeness of a *throne*;" "And this was the appearanee of the likeness of the glory of the Lord;" "And the Spirit of the living creature was in the wheels;" "And the rings were full of eyes [the conservatism of truth, principle] round about;" "And whither the Spirit was to go they went, *and turned not* when they went;" "And they went every one of them STRAIGHT FORWARD."

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENTAL MAXIMS.

GLEANED FROM DR. PERRINE'S MEMORANDUM BOOKS AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.

A CONSTITUTION, says Judge Cooley, is sometimes defined as the fundamental law of a state; containing the principles upon which the government is founded, regulating the division of the sovereign powers, and directing to what persons each of these powers is to be confided and the manner in which it is to be exercised. It is that body of rules and maxims in accordance with which the powers of sovereignty are habitually exercised.

The constitution, according to Judge Cooley, is higher in authority than any law, direction, or decree made by any body or any officer assuming to act under it, since such body or officer must exercise a delegated authority, and that must necessarily be subservient to the instrument by which the delegation is made.

A constitution, says President Alden, of Jefferson College, is the fundamental law which determines the form of the government and defines its powers. The powers of the government are limited by the constitution. The government can do only that which the constitution authorizes it to do. The legislature has no power to make a law contrary to the constitution.

The following sentences are taken from President Alden's *Science of Government*:

"Justice is the great end of government."

"Men are born members of the State and subjects of the law."

"Sir James McIntosh's definition of liberty is 'security against wrong.'"

"No man can claim the right to do wrong. Liberty does not consist in the privilege of self-government, nor is it necessarily the result of the privilege of self-government."

"Liberty is the result of wise and just laws faithfully executed."

"It is the maxim of the British Constitution that the *king never dies*."

"A republic is that form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people, or representatives elected by the people."

"That man who says that representatives of the people are to do the will of their constituents neither understands the science of the American government or any other. A Webster, a Marshall, a Madison, to throw away their own convictions and to follow the bidding of the crowd! No!!"

"The very design of many of the provisions of our government is to *prevent* the execution of the will of the people *when hastily formed*; to give opportunity for that sober second thought which is more nearly allied to wisdom."

"The true theory is this: The representative is a professional agent who is chosen to do certain things

according to his best ability, chosen on account of his ability. The people are under obligation to have good laws. Hence they are under obligation to use the best means adapted to that end. Hence they select good and wise men to make their laws. They select them that they may have the benefit of their superior wisdom. Of course they must be allowed to exercise that wisdom unfettered by instructions. They should be restrained only by the constitution and the laws made in accordance with the constitution."

"The duties of a legislator should be prescribed by the constitution, not by the leaders of a party, or by a majority under the control of such leaders."

"The representative should conform to the wishes of his constituency (only) so far as he can do so consistently with fidelity to their interests and those of the country. A desire to please them should not cause him to neglect the duties he was chosen to perform."—Pp. 23, 27, 29-31.

There is an immense difference between admiring liberty as a philosophical speculation—loving her like an imaginary beauty by sonnet and madrigal—and uniting with her in real wedlock for better or for worse.

"If parliamentary practice is a guarantee of liberty by excluding in a high degree impassioned legislation and aiding in embodying in the law the collective mind of the legislature, the principle of two houses, or the bicameral system, as Mr. Bentham has called it, is another and no less efficient guarantee."*

* Lieber, *Civ. Lib.*, p. 193.

"When a bill is hastily brought in it generally requires mature deliberation and many amendments in its progress through the two houses, which always takes up a great deal of time, whereas when it is maturely considered and fully concerted before being brought in the first draft of the bill is generally so perfect that it requires but few amendments. And the rapidity of its progress always bears a proportion to the maturity of its first concoction."*

The executive in all governments should have a negative upon the legislative functions thereof. Blackstone says: "It is highly necessary for preserving the balance of the constitution that the executive power should be a branch, though not the whole of the legislature. The total union of them, as we have seen, would be productive of tyranny; the total disjunction of them for the present would, in the end, produce the same effects by causing that union against which it seems to provide. The legislative would soon become tyrannical by making continual encroachments and gradually assuming to itself the rights of the executive power."

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church evidently contemplates the integrity and perpetuity of the episcopal or executive power.† Then why not grant to a majority or to three fourths of our bishops present in the General Conference the negative that, in some form at least, is deemed essential to preserve the integrity and independence of every vigorous executive in every free state in Christendom? Why

* Sir Charles Wagner.

† See restrictive rules.

should our bishops be compelled to listen to frequent reminders from the floor of the General Conference that "they are entirely at its mercy?" We commend to the general good sense of the Church the following apothegm of "Junius," that champion of liberty: "The submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have enacted."*

What are names by the side of principles? "It is evidently on the real distribution of power," says Macaulay, "and not on names, that the happiness of nations must depend."† Legislative, judicial, and executive power undistributed is popery, whether in the hands of one or many. The negative, as we have seen, is necessary to the real distribution of power—absolutely essential to the extirpation of popery. This bugaboo of Rome, no matter by whom shouted, *is a poor compliment to the general intelligence of Methodism, and should be stunningly rebuked by the endowment of the chief executive of the Church with every prerogative essential to the perfection of a free government.*

In the Methodist Episcopal Church "the power of the elders to govern is permanently transferred so as to be recalled only by a change in the constitution, and (that) it is distributed, as in the federal government, into three departments: the legislative, lodged solely in the General Conference; the executive, assigned exclusively to the bishops; and the judicial, diffused through various church courts."

"I shall undertake to show," says Madison, "that

* Letters, vol. i, p. 25.

† Essays, p. 790.

unless these departments be so far connected and blended as to give to each a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the maxim (of liberty) requires as essential to a free government can never in practice be duly maintained."

We have been burning the candle of Methodism at both ends, the people arrogating to themselves the divine call and peculiar functions of the ministry, and the ministry encroaching in the General Conference upon the constitutional prerogatives of the bishops.

The best things have been overthrown not so much by the puissance or might of adversaries as through the defect of council in them that should have upheld and defended the same.*

Authority is sacred when experience affords parallels and analogies.†

The highest earthly work the work of government.‡

In his diary, July 4, 1844, Rufus Choate indicates what he considers should be the characteristics of a legislative speech. These are "Truth for the staple, good taste for the form, persuasion to act for the end."

The difference between political and constitutional responsibility is, the one is to the people and the other to the organic law.

Error lurks under generalities.§

To censure works, not men, is the just prerogative of criticism.¶

All human authority ceases at the point where obedience to man becomes disobedience to God.¶¶

* Hooker, *Const. Lib.*, p. 480.

† Hooker.

‡ Arnold.

§ An ancient maxim.

¶ Lord Kames.

¶¶ Dymond.

Society is the guardian, not the giver of its rights.*

Every civil right has a natural right for its foundation.†

Every man by understanding his rights learns his duties, for where the rights of man are equal every man must finally see the necessity of protecting the rights of others as the most effectual security of his own.‡

“Right by chance and wrong by system,” are things so frequently seen in the political world that it becomes proof of prudence neither to censure nor applaud too soon.

The fact that society is so constituted as to govern itself is in proof that government is of God.§

An hereditary transmission of any power or office can never accord with the laws of true representation.||

Who make the ministry a caste? “Those who say they cannot represent the people.”

“Up with the times” is the righteous imprint of optionalism; “As steady as eternity,” the changeless principles that run through all times.

If simpletons deride Church government as superficial and incidental, wise men will regard it as the organic structure which gives law to the performance of every living function.

There is a certain degree of giddiness bordering upon light-headedness that naturally attends upon the advocacy of democracy.

Love, joy, peace, etc., the fruits of the Spirit, are indeed the life of the Church, but life is always subject

* Paine.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

to law, spiritual, animal, vegetable, chemical, all subject to organic structural laws.

Church polity is more than government. If it be held that Church government has reference simply to the protection of rights, let me say that Church polity means something more—a militant movement.

Precedents are “cases that rest upon analogous facts” (and of course are illustrative of the same principle).

Precedents are important, not as concluding controversy, but as guides to the judicial mind.

Kent says, “A solemn decision upon a point of law arising in any given case becomes an authority in like cases.”

Dr. Lieber says, “Liberty and steady progression require the principle of the precedent in all spheres.”

“If there is any thing certain in human affairs it is that acquisitions are only to be retained by the continuation of the same energies which gained them.”*

Between the extremes of absolutism and anarchy the ages have vacillated. Absolutism by its excesses has driven the world toward anarchy, and anarchy by its terrors back again toward absolutism. There is ice at either pole—danger at either extreme. A despot without control, a mob without control, are equally the foes of law, order, peace, and right. Power on the throne harnessed by the enlightened will of the people is the acme of governmental wisdom.

There can be no effectual control without some difference of origin or character or interest or feeling or sentiment. And the great question in this country has been

* John Stuart Mill.

*where to find or how to create this difference in governments entirely elective and popular.**

This "GREAT QUESTION," so embarrassing to the free State, finds most admirable answer in the free Church, not in the inventions of man, but in the ordinances of God. In the standing orders of the laity and ministry, each with its divinely enumerated powers and specific functions and determinate interests, in the one grand organism of the Church, the body of Christ, we have precisely the great *desiderata*, that exact balance of differing powers, "interests, feelings, and sentiments," which is so essential to the absolute liberty, perfect security, and mutual prosperity of each in the one great brotherhood of the Church.

Not that the ministry is a "*caste*," any more than the incumbents of any constitutional office are a "*caste*." The authority of the ministry in the constitutional office of the presbytery or eldership to which *they are elected by the laity* ("And they elected them elders in every church." Acts xiv, 23) is the *authority of an elective OFFICE, not of a PRIESTHOOD*. But just as in a republic, where every citizen is equal in the eyes of the law, particular men chosen by the suffrages of the many are charged with important functions in the organic structure of the government, clothed, indeed, with the authority of a *constitutional* office, so, while all are equal in the sight of God as citizens of the kingdom of heaven, nevertheless in the visible organism of the Church, where "all members have not the same office" (Rom. xii, 4, 5), the elective constitutional offices of the

* Webster's Works, vol. iii, pp. 9, 10.

pastorate (Acts xx, 28) and of the diaconate or stewardship (Acts vi, 2-7) have each an authority, in their respective spheres, of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church distinctively marked in the *magna charta* of ecclesiastical rights, and as consistent with the absolute freedom of every member of the Church as are the elective offices of senator and representative named in the Constitution with the liberties of every citizen of the Republic. The *hoodlum* or communistic demand that all organism in Church or State shall be ground to its component dust—to its ultimate atoms—is without brains, as it is without God. The *hoodlum* in Church or State is himself an *organism*, and logically annihilates himself in his *insane* “All-on-a-level” cry, “No officers!” “No authority!!”

The sainted and scholarly Nadal has very fitly said: “There are three forms of society divinely established, the State, the Church, and the family; in other words, civil society, ecclesiastical society, and domestic society. Civil society has to do with man’s external and purely *mundane* relations; ecclesiastical society with his *spiritual* and *divine* relations; and domestic society stands between the other two, closely related to each as a preparation for each, but possessing a distinct character of its own.”

And our dearly beloved and God-honored Bishop Simpson, in his great speech in Pittsburg (May 24, 1869), spoke as follows: “Possibly it is said that the Church differs from other institutions in that it is divinely established. But, so far as the fact of their being, are not civil governments also of God? ‘The

powers that be are ordained of God,' and yet the people have a right as to form and persons."

We are very grateful to God for the utterance of these our leaders, for the recognition of this great fundamental truth: "God hath spoken once, yea, twice have I heard, that power belongeth unto God." "The powers that be are ordained of God."

You may as well level all the members of the family to the plane of democracy as to break down all the special functions of the Church to the same plane. The family in form is of God, and the Church in its essential organization is of God, as the ethical principles that underlie all government are of God.

Certain of these ethical principles are generally admitted: 1. That the family, the Church, and the State are of divine institution, and are to continue to the end of time. 2. That there are certain divinely ordained ethical principles that lie at the foundation of all government, whether family, Church, or State. 3. That these ethical principles include the great truth that all just governments are instituted for the good of the governed, and that these governments derive their just powers from the authority and teachings of God. Alexander Pope says: "I hope all Churches and governments are so far of God as they are rightly understood and rightly administered, and when they err or may be wrong I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them."

"Every attentive reader of the New Testament must see that *at least the outlines of Church government are there laid down*, and the specific business of officers is

often left indefinite for the purpose of permitting the Churches, in their subsequent history, to arrange their government according to their circumstances.”

Mr. Wesley says: * “Many learned men have shown at large that our Lord himself, and all his apostles, built the Christian Church, as nearly as possible, on the plan of the Jewish.”

“It is by the authority of the great Head of the Church that government and discipline are established in the Church.”

“Any government whose laws are enacted by the Lord, and whose officers are of his selection, is a theocracy. Such is the Church, and such it has been in every age.”

“The difference between the government of the Church and the government of the State may be specified as follows:

“1. In the Jewish Church the two were united. Under the Gospel they are separated by the authority of our Lord. His kingdom is a spiritual kingdom. It is not of this world. The government of the State is secular.

“2. The government of the Church concerns itself only with those persons who belong to the Church. It has no authority over those who are of the world only.

“3. No requirement can be made of any member of the Church except what is expressly taught in the Bible, or what may be inferred from it. Civil government may make any requirement of individ-

* Sermon on the ministerial office.

uals which may be deemed best for the good of the State.

“4. Church government is *moral* in its nature, and punishes only by admonition or excommunication; while civil government punishes by pains and penalties of secular power.

“5. Church government is advisory, soothing, and saving in its nature. The apostle says: ‘Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.’ Gal. vi, 1. The civil power usually visits the offender without any of these palliating and preventing steps.

“6. Church government always forgives a penitent offender. Civil government makes no provision for forgiveness. See 2 Cor. ii, 6, 7.”

“I have,” says De Tocqueville, “seen reason to change some of my views on social facts as well as some reasons founded on imperfect observations. But the foundation of my opinions can never undergo a change. Certain irrevocable maxims and propositions must constitute the basis of thinking minds.”

“The ideas on which the first religion was based must re-appear and stand prominently forth in the next and indeed in every dispensation.”*

“I would rather fall with Christ than to remain standing with Cæsar.”

“The Gospel cometh not from man, but was brought by Jesus Christ, and afterward put into the hearts of

* Fairbairn.

the apostles and their successors, that they might comprehend it and speak or publish it.”*

“The kingdom is not governed by any force or power, but by preaching alone—that is, the Gospel.”†

“Hereby is the kingdom governed when he so reigneth that all the power thereof consisteth in the word of God.”‡

“He hath called and instructed certain persons to minister in our churches, and hath bestowed upon them various gifts proper for the discharge of their offices.”§

Dr. Elliott says: “Protestants and Roman Catholics are agreed that a class of men appointed in the Church to administer sacrament and to bear rule is of divine appointment, and necessary for the interests of religion.” “That appointment to the ministry was commanded or instituted by Jesus Christ is acknowledged on both sides.” “The apostles acknowledge only two ministerial offices—one of the *word* and another of *tables*—therefore there are only two orders of ministers, namely pastors and deacons.”||

The government of the Church is a theocracy in a far higher sense than can be predicated of any State government, though it should discover and apply every good ethical principle of law and order essential to its well-being.

Church government as a *theocracy* involves not only the most distinct reiteration and perfectly just application of all “ethical principles of law and order,” founded at creation in the general relation of things,

* Luther.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| Elliott on Romanism, pp. 448, 449, 476.

but the Divine presence and efficient sovereign headship of Christ in the Church, as has never been manifested in the State, by the "divine prescription" and "divine injunction" of specific agencies and positive laws for the sovereign control of all the interests of the kingdom of God.

Nothing can be more unseemly than the position of an individual minority, unless it be the blunders of an overwhelming majority, the public being judges.

For the Protestant "crime," the right of private judgment, a minority may be allowed to answer at the bar of its own conscience. The majority must respond at the court of history. The power that abandons discretion in the moment of fancied victory by shutting off debate may have ample leisure for repentance.

"Those who are conscious of a good cause and of the support of historical facts should never despair of making truth triumphant, even under circumstances the most adverse and apparently hopeless."*

It is the duty of minorities to be "*opinionated*" in the better sense of the term; to have a definite and positive opinion in the case decided. If one had no such conviction as to the merits of the case in hand he had no right to attempt its decision by his vote—no right to be numbered either with the minority or majority. *Doubt* as to the merits of any given measure must bar the vote on that measure. A "doubtful vote" is an act of unmanly folly, a fearful crime, and involves a responsibility no genuine man ever dare assume. To voluntarily cast this doubtful vote is a

* Allison.

positive falsehood; its compulsion by a "deliberative body" an act of tyranny.

It is the further duty of minorities to continue to advocate their opinions until convinced that they are erroneous. Majorities in a democratic government are not *finalities*, and were *never* intended to decide a case of conscience. It is the glory of free institutions that they are based on free opinions, and that an untrammelled conscience may assert its integrity though against the world. The rule of majorities, implying the preponderance of *free opinions* on a given subject, should never stultify itself by an attempt to crush out the expression of free opinions in others who, in a free government, have simply compromised their peaceable submission to majority rule with the express understanding that they are free to manufacture a sentiment that in a free government at the end of a given period shall give them the rule in turn.

The report of the minority is always in order.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSTITUTION TO BE GUARDED.

(At the opening of the General Conference of 1876, in the city of Baltimore, Dr. W. H. Perrine moved the appointment of a special committee, to consist of two members from the territory of each Annual Conference, to take the initiative in the work of the thorough and permanent reorganization of the General Conference into two distinct, separate, and yet concurring houses, to be known respectively as the Clerical Senate and the House of Lay Representatives; the former to have the initiative in all measures relating to moral discipline; the latter in measures relating to the secularities of the Church. The motion was tabled, but permission was granted Dr. Perrine to publish his speech in support thereof in the *Daily Advocate*. He said:)

In support of this motion, Mr. President, I beg leave to submit to the judgment of this most honorable body the following considerations:

1. The division of this body into two distinct and separate houses is demanded for the more effectual protection of our free constitution from the encroachments of the legislative body.

That we may the better admeasure the merit of this argument, let us traverse the ground legitimately covered by it in four distinct yet consecutive steps:

First, we wish to show exactly that in which the freedom of a constitution consists.

Secondly, that ours is a free constitution.

Thirdly, that our free constitution is in danger from the overreachings of the legislative arm; and

Fourthly, that the expedient which the legislative science of the ages has provided for the protection of the free constitutions of the world against the aggressive ambition of the concentrated legislative power is the division of that mass into two distinct, separate, and restraining houses.

It is said, Mr. President, that in ascertaining certain dimensions a yard-stick has been known to do valuable service; that its fair application will settle most disputes as to lengths or breadths, heights or depths; that it is equally authoritative whether applied to ribbons, to broadcloth, to corduroy, to cordwood, to the altitude of a man, or the girth of the globe. We congratulate the world of extension on the happy possession of a standard so well accredited, so universally authoritative.

Have we in the political or ecclesiastical worlds any thing analogous to this? A governmental "yard-stick" so well accredited, so universally authoritative that its fair application shall be the end of all controversies as to the freedom or despotism of all constitutions, whether of Church or State? A "yard-stick" that shall admeasure with equal facility, impartiality, and exactness the merits of all expositions of our constitution in this regard, whether made by Church historian, General Conference orator, or official editor, no matter how erudite, eloquent, or "well stuck to?"

We are happy at least in thinking we have a "yard-stick" as old as political science itself, and as authoritative as the consensus of all the great names in its history. It is the celebrated apothegm of Montesquieu, and reads thus: "*There can be no liberty where the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are united in the same monarch or senate.*"

Thomas Jefferson thus indorses it: "The concentrating of all the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers in the same hands answers precisely the definition of despotic government. It will be no alleviation that these powers will be exercised by a plurality of hands and not by a single one. One hundred and seventy-three despots would be as oppressive as one. As little will it avail that they are chosen by ourselves. An elective despotism was not the government we fought for, but one which should not only be founded on free principles, but in which the powers of government should be so divided and balanced among several bodies of magistracy as that no one could transcend their legal limits without being effectually checked and restrained by the others." *

Chief Justice Story puts his great name upon our yard-stick thus:

"Whenever the executive, legislative, and judiciary are all vested in one person or body of men, the government is in fact a despotism, by whatever name it may be called, whether a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy." † "Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous," says Webster, the great expounder of con-

* Jeffersons Works, vol. viii, p. 361.

† *Const.* p. 47.

stitutional liberty, "than the pretense of a desire to simplify government. If we will abolish the distinction of branches and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials and leave all to the judge; if we will then ordain that the legislator shall himself be that judge; and if we place the executive power also in the same hands, we may readily simplify government—we may bring it to the simplest of all forms, a pure despotism."*

Alexander Hamilton, who, as the distinguished Guizot affirms, "must be classed among the men who have best understood the vital principles and fundamental conditions of government," emphatically pronounces the apothegm which requires the distribution of the legislative, executive, and judiciary functions "the most approved and well-founded maxim of free government."

James Madison, one of the clearest of all our political writers, says: "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether one, few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny;" and of our "yard-stick" he says: "No political truth is certainly of greater intrinsic value or stamped with the authority of more enlightened patrons of liberty."†

We will add the weight of but one other equally great name. Stahl, in his justly celebrated work, entitled the *Philosophie des Rechts*, says: "Through Locke and Montesquieu the great truth has been won, and it constitutes their undying renown, that the participa-

* Works, vol. iv, p. 122.

† *Fed.*, p. 272.

tion of the different elements in the exercise of the power of the state, and that, too, in their threefold function, is the foundation of civil and political freedom." And so, on the other hand, that "when one and the same power, whether a prince or a popular assembly, alone exercises all functions despotism is the inevitable result."*

The authority of our political yard-stick could not be more absolutely unimpeachable, nor could its application be more easy and decisive, provided we but attend with due caution to the exact demarkation of the rule as laid down in the works of its great expositors. We regret, however, that it has sometimes been misapplied. Mr. Bagehot, in his recent work on the English Constitution, could not have spoken more completely without the record than when he says, "No doubt, by the traditional theory, as it exists in all the books, the goodness of our constitution consists in the entire separation of the legislative and executive authorities."†

For this "traditional theory as it exists in all the books" is most explicit and emphatic in warning against this "entire separation of legislative, executive, and judiciary powers," as one of the dangerous extremes to be forever avoided. "The entire division of powers," says Bluntschli, "would involve the dissolution of the state and the dismemberment of the political body."‡

Stahl says: "The complete isolation of the executive

* Vol. ii, sec. 2, p. 203.

† P. 76.

‡ *Allgemeines Statsrechts*, vol. i, p. 450.

strips it of every thing and makes it the tool of the legislative body." *

"The error involved in the maxim of a division of powers," says Von Mohl, "is almost universally recognized in the science of politics. Instead of the common endeavor toward the common good it would result in conflict, in the antagonisms of divided powers, and instead of stable freedom it would lead to anarchy." †

"The error which would isolate them," says Meulford, "is as destructive of unity as the error which would identify them is destructive of freedom." ‡

"The total union of them," says Blackstone, "would be productive of tyranny ; their total disjunction for the present would in the end produce that (total) union against which it seems to provide ; the legislative would become tyrannical by making continual encroachments and gradually assuming to itself the rights of the executive." §

"I shall undertake to show," says Madison, "that unless these departments be so far connected and blended as to give to each a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the apothegm requires as essential to a free government can never in practice be duly maintained." ||

"To what expedient, then," asks Hamilton, "shall we finally resort for maintaining in practice the necessary partition of power ? The only answer that can be given is that as all exterior provisions are found to be inade-

* *Nation*, p. 192. † *Encyklopädie der Staats Wissenschaften*, p. 112.

‡ *Nation*, p. 177. § *Comment.*, vol. i., p. 153. || *Fed.*, p. 382.

quate, the defect must be supplied by so contriving the exterior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper places."*

Among the almost endlessly varied expedients, hyphens, or connecting links, by which co-ordinate departments are inter-related or braided together in subordination to constitutional unity, may be mentioned the following :

1. Constitutional Checks ; such as the conditional negative upon the legislative by the executive, and the decree of unconstitutionality of legislative acts in particular cases by the judiciary.

2. A second class of connecting links are : Constitutional Re-enforcements ; such as the executive may give the constabulary of the courts, by calling out the militia, and the legislative to the executive in the executive sessions of the senate.

3. A third class of connecting bonds between these departments might be labeled, Constitutional Dependences ; such as is seen in the dependence "for the most part of our national judiciary upon the authorizing acts of Congress, creating courts and conferring jurisdiction;"† and in the election of the judges of the supreme court by the senate upon the nomination by the executive.

4. A fourth and last class might be labeled, Constitutional Responsibilities : amenability of all public officers to the political or civil tribunals under the

* *Fed.*, p. 397.

† Cooley's *Const. Lim.*, p. 191.

Constitution according to the nature of their crimes or misdemeanors; for all authorities concur with Kent that the "inviolability of any officer is incompatible with the Republican theory."*

"In the United States," says De Tocqueville, "all public offices are responsible to the tribunals."†

"Responsibility," says Patrick Henry, "is the great pillar of free government."‡

In summing up the opinions of those who framed the Federal Constitution, Elliott says: "An independence of the three great departments of each other, as far as possible, and the responsibility of all to the will of the community, seemed to be generally admitted as the true basis of a well-constructed government."§

That is it, Mr. President—the correlation of inter-dependent and perfectly co-ordinate departments or offices of the government with the absolute subordination or responsibility of all incumbent officers for the due performance of their constitutional functions. We repeat it, the perfect co-ordination of *office* and the absolute subordination of the *officer* are both equally essential to the unity and vigor of free government. That and that alone is the doctrine of the apothegm, and that is the standard "stamped with the authority of the most enlightened patrons of liberty." This standard we would now fling up beside the stately proportions of our ecclesiastical constitution, and we do it with confidence, with pride, with gratitude to God for the wisdom of the fathers in old Baltimore in 1808.

* *Comment.*, vol. i, p. 302.

† Vol. i, p. 130.

‡ *Virginia*, Elliott's *Debates*, p. 390.

§ Elliott's *Debates*, vol. v, p. 327.

Was there ever, in the history of political or ecclesiastical discussions, an absurdity equal to that advocated by the South in 1844, that "because the episcopacy (episcopal office) was a co-ordinate branch of Church government, therefore he (the bishop, episcopal officer) was not subordinate? Therefore he became absolute, and beyond the reach of reproof, censure, instruction, suspension, or deposition."*

Yes, there was one other, the exact counterpart of the Southern folly; the equally amazing absurdity advocated by the orators and editors of the Church North from that day to this, that because the bishop or episcopal *officer* was subordinate, amenable, to the General Conference, therefore the episcopacy or episcopal office is not a co-ordinate branch of our Church government!! Could there be any thing more amazing? And yet these two hemispheres of absurdity together make a perfect world of nonsense, the most stupendous puff-ball in all political or ecclesiastical history. And yet, sir, so vigorously has that puff-ball been kicked from North to South and from South to North by the official acrobats of both sections that the cloud of descending dust filling every publisher's sanctum has obscured many an editorial line and thought, and well-nigh put out the eyes of Methodistical Church polity.

"Will any sensible man," asks Richard Henry Lee, of the convention that framed our national Constitution—"will any sensible man say that great power without responsibility can be given to rulers with safety to liberty?"†

* *Great Secession*, p. 426.

† Elliott's *Debates*, vol. i, p. 505.

Is there a sensible member of this body so insensible to the excellencies of the structure of the national government that shelters him as to say that perfect co-ordination in office is incompatible in any degree with the subordination of the officer in every degree? Is any man so brave as to affirm it? Is not the perfect subordination of the officer essential to absolute co-ordination in office to any practical degree, and both to that real distinction of power demanded by the republican theory of free government? Dare any man deny?

That every episcopal officer is amenable under the constitution to the General Conference no one in this assembly will question. That he is not only subject at all times to impeachment for immoral conduct before the appropriate judiciary tribunals of the Church, but answerable directly for maladministration to this body, which may during its session admonish, reprove, suspend, or remove him from office, no one can question.

But as to the co-ordination of the episcopal office with that of the legislative—we blush to say it—that has been questioned. And that question gives weight, superlative dignity, and overwhelming importance, a solemn emphasis, sir, to our second question: *Is ours a free government, a free constitution?*

If, on the one hand, we shall find all legislative, executive, and judiciary power given by that constitution into the hands of our episcopacy, in the presence of our standard, “stamped with the authority of the most enlightened patrons of liberty,” ours is a despotic govern-

ment. That would be popery. Again, if, on the other hand, that Constitution lodges supreme legislative, judicial, and executive powers in the popular assembly, the General Conference, we shall find our government again answering "the very definition of tyranny," "in fact, a despotism."

If, however, we shall find the executive, legislative, and judicial powers standing in the same relation of dependence upon the constitution that is above them, each equally sheltered by it from the encroachments of every other, and all standing in the same relations of authority in their respective provinces to all below them, then we have not only a perfect co-ordination of powers according to all lexicographers, but, with the subordination of all officers, that exact distribution of powers or offices which constitutes our free government.

I hold in my hand, sir, the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, enacted in the old Light Street church of this city in 1808. I turn first to that authorizing clause of the constitution which confers legislative powers upon the General Conference: "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions."

That, Mr. President, is the institution of the legislative department, standing, of course, in the relation of dependence upon the constitution, from which it receives the definition, the authoritative limitation, of its powers. What could Bishop Hamline have meant when he affirmed of this body, "It has legislative supremacy?"

We stand second to no man in our admiration for the gifts of Bishop Hamline as an orator. And it will be thought no presumption in me to say with reference to his famous speech that, though it were the most matchless forensic effort ever made, though its granite-like foundations were laid upon an underpinning of the most diamond-like rhetoric that ever dazzled the eyes of a deliberative body, and though the ease with which he upreared that amazing superstructure of General Conference power seemed perfectly magician-like, Bishop Hamline at least was able to answer himself. When pushed by Dr. Smith upon some of the points of that speech, "Mr. Hamline rose to explain, and under the head of fifthly said: 'This body is responsible to the constitution.'" What! "Supreme," and yet responsible? He himself, sir, despite the fictitious theory set up in his oracular speech, was obliged to acknowledge that the legislative department of the Church stands in a responsible position, dependent on the constitution for the definition and guarantee of its powers.

We glance next at those portions of the constitution which relate to the executive department.

In the wise inter-relations of the departments of power established by the constitution we notice here, first, that "one of the general superintendents shall preside in the General Conference." Again, we find on this same page of the Discipline "the whole machinery of executive administration, every wheel and spring," sheltered effectually by the constitution from the legislative arm: "They [the General Conference] shall not

change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency."

Now, we must suppose that the founders of the constitution used the terms "episcopacy" and "plan of itinerant general superintendency" in a definite and positive sense, a sense which we, as interpreters of the constitution, are bound to seek and ascertain; a sense, very fortunately, we need not go very far to find; for these terms are most specifically defined for us in those very "parts and rules of our Church government" which the founders of the constitution have so wisely sheltered from the encroachments of the legislative body, that it can never "do away episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency."

Referring only incidentally to "that part or rule of our Church government" relating to "the form of ordaining a bishop," where we have a most impressive exhibit of the high importance attached to these officers by the founders of the constitution "for the well governing of the Church," let us turn at once to that other "part or rule of our Church government," in which the inalienable powers of the episcopal office are categorically enumerated, and the responsibility of the incumbent officer most unequivocally enjoined. We refer to the section on "the election and consecration of bishops, and their duty." The powers of the episcopal office are here enumerated under the head of "duties of a bishop," and are as follows:

1. To preside in our conferences.
2. To fix the appointments of the preachers.

3. In the intervals of the conferences to change, receive, and suspend preachers.

4. To travel through the connection at large.

5. To oversee the spiritual and temporal business of our Church.

6. To ordain bishops, elders, and deacons.

All of the above powers were implied in the terms "episcopacy and plan of our itinerant general superintendency," as understood by the founders of the constitution at the time, and hence, according to the most authoritative of all the canons of criticism, binding upon all expounders of the constitution for *all time*.

Now, sir, if we should apply with any thing like legal acumen a well-established legal principle, namely, that the prohibition of the greatest offense in any certain class of offenses must exclude all the minor offenses of that class, then the prohibition of the constitution which forbids to "do away episcopacy," must forbid the slightest encroachment upon any one of the constitutional prerogatives of that "episcopacy" as it existed in 1808, for in just so far as any one of these prerogatives is lessened, weakened, or maimed in the least, just so far is episcopacy "done away," and just so far the constitution suffers violence.

In the fortification of our position in favor of the co-ordination of our episcopacy with the legislative department in the government of the Church, we shall here cite but two authorities, either one of whom will pass current with this body. Dr. Charles Elliott, our official historian, employed and paid by the General Conference of 1848, as "a competent person to write

the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the last four years," shall speak for us:

"The *office* of bishop and the plan of general superintendency are fundamental ecclesiastical principles of Episcopal Methodism which the General Conference cannot do away or *infringe upon*. But this body, according to the Discipline, has complete authority to approve, censure, suspend, depose, or expel any bishop (that is, episcopal *officer*), and this power has always been recognized and exercised, as far as there was room for it, since the organization of the first delegated General Conference, in 1808."*

Our other authority that we propose to quote we think will go unimpeached, at least wherever "the sage and leader of the old Baltimore Conference" is known, the venerable Alfred Griffith, whom Stevens so justly pronounces "profound and statesman-like in council," "a venerable counselor of the General Conference."†

"Methodist Episcopacy is the episcopacy which the General Conference cannot do away. It is a superior office which the Conference of 1784 adopted as a distinct authority and power, and incorporated it as a primary element of the organic law for the government of the Church, and the General Conference is bound to fill the office, from time to time, with suitable men, so as to maintain it." "Thus the office is distinguished from the incumbents who fill it."‡ To Dr. Hamline we sim-

* *History of the Great Secession*, p. 429.

† *History of the M. E. Church*, pp. 215, 231.

‡ *History of the Great Secession*, p. 463.

ply say, in 1808 the constitution did not “create,” but simply and effectually *sheltered* the executive department of Church administration, which had been in existence since 1784.

By turning to the fifth restrictive rule we shall find the prerogatives of what we may call our ecclesiastical judiciary equally sheltered by the constitution from the talons of the General Conference, for it is there written, “They [the General Conference] shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by a committee, and of an appeal.”

If, as some one has said, “the main result of three hundred years of Anglo-Saxon agitation, revolution, and bloodshed was to put twelve honest, intelligent men in a jury box,” we may commend the provident wisdom of the fathers in thus throwing over these most precious of all ecclesiastical rites the broad and sheltering ægis of the constitution. We cannot dwell here—as we would like. Suffice it to say of these three great powers of Church government that, as all alike are standing in the same relation of dependence upon the constitution above them, and all alike standing with constitutional authority in the same relation to all that is below them, we must pronounce them co-ordinate under the constitution. And braided together as they are by the most admirable expedients of inter-relations and dependencies in the unity of the constitution, and without the possibility of a deadlock of co-ordinate

powers, as in the United States government, on the one hand, or the tenure of the executive administration being dependent on the roll of a popular wave, as in Parliament, on the other, we have, we believe it, with a few exceptions to be noticed hereafter, the most admirable system of distributed power yet devised by man—the freest, the most stable, and yet the most vigorous Church government on earth.

But this free constitution is in danger. Do any doubt that it has been imperiled? Proof is too conclusive. Who gave the most popular speech ever delivered on the floor of this legislature? Leonidas L. Hamline. What was the burden of that marvelous speech? The supremacy of the General Conference! We quote *verbatim*: “Its supremacy is universal!! It has legislative, judicial, and executive supremacy!!!” What followed? Was this body shocked at the utterance of this great libel on the character of our free constitution, at the application of the formula which “answers to the very definition of a despotic government,”* “precisely the definition of tyranny,”† which would make us “in fact a despotism.”‡ The record tells us “that at its conclusion nearly every body was ready to shout.” Aye, sir, that formula fell on “eager ears.” It touched responsive chords in human nature. In short, it was in perfect consonance with what Chief-Justice Story calls so justly “the strong propensity of all public bodies to accumulate all power, patronage, and influence in its own hands.” Sir, with the General Conference it was a very popular speech. Who won-

* Jefferson.

† Madison

‡ Story.

ders that they were “ready to shout”—were ready to smile on the author and utterer of so many most agreeable sentiments, so many exquisite and most acceptable compliments—were ready to do a handsome thing in return? The orator gave the Conference all he would—legislative, judicial, and executive supremacy,” “universal supremacy!!” and the General Conference gave the orator all they could! Their suffrage made him a bishop. And what wonder, sir, that while the exhilarating effect of that intoxicating draught of “universal supremacy” was still tingling the blood, vibrating along all the nerves, bracing the will with a feeling of puissance akin to conscious omnipotence, this body, within twenty-four hours after it had shaken out its honors on the head of the very complimentary orator, proceeded to such a *stretch* of General Conference prerogatives in the enactment of the *so-called* “plan of separation” as has covered not only its enactors, the General Conference of 1844, but the entire Church, with confusion, humiliation, and shame. Alfred Griffith and a few others lifted up the voice of warning, but under the whip of the previous question this well-nigh omnipotent body drove on. It was the work of a few hours, but it has given us abundant leisure for repentance, and the end is not yet. We would, sir, infinitely prefer to go backward and throw the veil of oblivion over that saddest of all the chapters of our legislative history, but fidelity to the interests of the Church yet imperiled by this “universal supremacy” dogma impels us to speak. The keen-eyed South saw its advantage. With that *so-called* “plan of separation” as a deep-laid keel, they

proceeded to key and bolt in the mighty ribs of "legislative, judicial, and executive supremacy," and, roofed with the identical "universal supremacy" rails of "the great speech," and beaked with the "General Conference supremacy" decisions of Judge Nelson in the United States Court, they sent their Confederate ram with flying colors crashing through the broadsides of our constitution, severing not only "a few slender restrictions," but cleaving the Church in twain, and carrying away with this General Conference supremacy craft the accumulated spoils of our Book Concern.

Why, sir, to change the figure slightly, General Hamline's universal supremacy guns were no sooner cast and wheeled into position than the South, charmed with the music, charged, seized, turned, and opened upon us "universal supremacy" thunder with a promptness, precision, and persistency that have not been at all amusing. Do any doubt the accuracy of our statements? In speaking of the Louisville Convention, at which the Southern Church was organized, Dr. Elliott says :

"The report on organization speaks as though the General Conference gave absolute power to the Southern conferences to separate."—P. 480.

And again: "The convention itself says: 'We do nothing but what we are expressly authorized to do by the supreme, or rather the highest, legislature of the Church—the General Conference.'"—P. 769.

Again, Dr. Elliott says: "The ground taken in the appeal of the Southern commissioners in the bill of the plaintiffs, and by the Southern press in general, was that the General Conference had full power to distribute

the funds without the constitutional vote of the Annual Conferences !”—P. 776.

On page 753 he quotes from Judge Nelson's decision the following amazing statement: "As it respects the action of this body (the General Conference of 1844) in the matter of division, no one can pretend but that it proceeds upon the assumption of unquestioned power to erect the Church into separate ecclesiastical establishments ! Independently of this question of property the power of severance is written on every page of its proceedings !" And again, from the same Supreme Court decision, on page 768: "As it respects the power of the General Conference since the modifications of 1808, it is the same as previously existed ! The powers conferred on the General Conference are broad and unlimited . . . the same as before !!" Preposterous as these "universal supremacy" expositions of the constitutional powers of this body may appear, sir, when inscribed on the banners of the craft that cleft our territory and Book Concern in twain, we cannot shut our eyes to the danger with which it still threatens us. The superlative absurdity of the doctrine was no bar to its adoption by the South, nor will it be, if we are to judge the future by the past, at the North. Look, sir, at the following vouchers: Dr. Crooks, of *The Methodist*, in his second letter reviewing Dr. Porter's pamphlet against lay delegation, in serious and most vehement argument, said: "This view of the powers of the General Conference, so ably presented by Bishop Hamline, and so eagerly accepted by the body to which it was addressed, has been fully confirmed by the Supreme

Court of the United States, . . . Judge Nelson holding ‘that the General Conference is supreme in the fullest sense of the term, without the concurrence of the several Conferences!!!’ “Thus the case stands.” He repeats: “The General Conference can do pretty much as it pleases! It made the Church; it can unmake it again! It can hold the Church together; it can divide it into two, three, or four ecclesiastical bodies. It is a supreme legislature, a supreme executive, a supreme court! . . . The General Conference is not such a body as you have asserted. Its powers are not limited, but plenary, and it may distribute those powers according to its pleasure!!”

That, sir, was one of the arches of “the bridge of fog” over which the whole phantom argument filed without a single protest.

Again, Dr. Crooks has quoted much more recently the whole of Bishop Hamline’s “universal supremacy speech,” not this time for the purpose of proving that the General Conference had power to distribute the aggregate members and powers of the Church into their primary, original, or ultimate atoms, but “the absolute *supremacy* of the General Conference over the episcopacy,” and that as to our bishops, “their *power*, their usefulness, themselves are entirely at the *mercy* of the (delegated) General Conference!!”*

And in the January number for 1876, after making a quotation with reference to the power of the whole body of preachers, Dr. Crooks says: “The function which most distinguishes our episcopacy (the appoint-

* *Methodist*, Dec. 26, 1874.

ing power) is, therefore, terminable in part or wholly at the pleasure of the General Conference !”

Dr. Curry also quotes the “universal supremacy” speech of Bishop Hamline with entire approbation, and says : “The General Conference as it meets quadrennially by delegates is forbidden to ‘do away episcopacy,’ but it may modify it at p’easeure, except that it must continue to be ‘itinerant general,’ or, as Bishop Hamline puts it, the incumbents of the office may be reduced to a single individual, and the duties assigned may be reduced to that of traveling through the work without the power to do any thing more !” * A perfect definition of an episcopal tramp ! Admirable ! You must “not do away” with “the big iron wheel,” but the number of cogs and spokes “may be reduced to a single individual” cog and spoke, and the duties assigned to this, with its individual spoke and cog, may be reduced to going round and round through the work “*without the power to do any thing more !*”

The language of the *North-western* is, if possible, still more remarkable. Its editor says : “The episcopacy is indeed a creature of and subordinate to the General Conference, but, in the intervals between the General Conference sessions, the episcopacy is, so far as its executive duties derived from that Conference (!) are concerned, the General Conference itself !!” †

The “executive duties” taken out of the “episcopacy,” what have you left ? A shell ! The editor of the *North-western* proposes to fill that shell with the

* New York *Christian Advocate*, February 11, 1875.

† *North-western*, January, 1875.

General Conference!! We need not multiply quotations. Their name is legion.

Now, Mr. President, the danger that must arise from this general and persistent denial of that distribution of power which is essential to liberty can but be evident to every enlightened lover of Constitutional Methodism. To what are we to look for refuge? To our official organs? Alas, sir, as we have seen, they are the advocates of this very absolutism of the General Conference! And no matter who shall be elected hereafter, they will be under the strongest possible temptations to flatter the king from whom they receive their patronage and their power, for "their country is nourished by the king's country." Shall we look to the episcopacy for the protection of the constitution? Alas! they are indeed in this body that claims the constitutional right to divest them of every vestige of power but "a gallery of disabilities, where, as spectators of a tragedy, they can do little more than admire or reprobate the piece, and smile or frown upon the actors," with not even the power of the conditional veto with which political science has invested elsewhere nearly every free executive on earth! Will the letter of the constitution be a sufficient bulwark for the protection of its spirit against the assaults of the legislature? Gouverneur Morris, whose gifted pen gave final form and symmetry to the Constitution of the United States, did not think so. In a letter to Timothy Pickering soon after the Constitution was finished he exclaims: "But, after all, what does it signify that men should have a written constitution, containing

unequivocal provisions and limitations? The legislative LION will not be entangled in the meshes of a logical net. The Legislature will always make the power which it wishes to exercise, *unless it be so organized as to contain within itself the sufficient check.* Attempts to restrain it from outrage by other means will only render it more outrageous.”*

Hamilton, who, it is said, “most powerfully contributed to introduce into the Constitution of the United States every element of order, of force, and duration in it,” says: “In a republican government the legislative authority necessarily predominates. The remedy for this inconvenience is to divide the legislature into different branches and to render them, by modes of election and different principles of action, as little connected with each other as the nature of their common function and their common dependence on society will admit.”†

De Lolme, one of the very first constitutional writers of modern times, says: “In order to insure stability to the constitution of the state, it is indispensably necessary to restrain the legislative authority; and the legislature, to be restrained, must be absolutely divided, for whatever laws it may make to restrain itself, they can never be relatively to it any thing more than simply resolutions. As those bars which it might erect to stop its own motions must then be within it and rest only upon it, they can be no bars. But each of the parts into which the legislature is divided can serve as bars to the motions of the others. . . . As a kind of point

* Elliott's *Debates*, vol. i, p. 509.

† *Fed.*, p. 390.

of honor will naturally take place between those different parts of the legislature, they will therefore be left to offer to each other only such propositions as will at least be plausible, and all very prejudicial changes will thus be prevented, as it were, before their birth.”*

Chief-Justice Story, among the enumerated advantages of the division of the legislature into two distinct and independent branches, states that “it interposes a barrier against the strong propensity of all public bodies to accumulate all power, patronage, and influence in their own hands.”†

In the great work of Curtis, entitled *The History of the Constitution of the United States*, quoted with deference as an authority at home and abroad, we find the following:

“The needful harmony and completeness of the scheme, according to the genius of Anglo-American liberty, *required the division of the Legislature*. Doubtless a single council or chamber can promulgate decrees and enact laws; *but it had never been the habit of the people of America, as it had never been the habit of their ancestors for at least a period of somewhat more than five centuries, to regard a single chamber as favorable to liberty or to wise legislation.*

“The separation into two chambers of Lords, spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, does not seem to have originated in a difference of personal rank so much as in their position *as separate estates of the realm*. All the orders might have voted promiscuously in one house, and just as effectually signified the assent

* *Const. Eng.*, p. 231.

† Story on Const., p. 50.

or dissent of Parliament to measures proposed. But the practice of making the assent of Parliament to consist *in the concurrent and separate action of the two estates*, though difficult to be traced to its origin in any distinct purpose or cause, became confirmed by the growing importance of the Commons, by their jealousy and vigilance, and by controlling positions which they finally assumed. As Parliament gradually proceeded to its present constitution, and the separate rights and privileges of the two Houses became established, it was found that *the practice of discussing a measure in two assemblies composed of different persons holding their seats by different tenure and representing different orders of the state*, was in the highest degree conducive to the security of the subject and to sound legislation.

“So fully was the conviction of the *practical convenience and utility of the two chambers* established in the Anglican mind that when representative government came to be established in the British North American colonies, although the original reason for the division of (legislative) power ceased to be applicable, it was retained for its incidental advantages. In none of the colonies was there any difference of social condition, or political privilege or power, recognized in the system of representation; and as there were therefore no separate estates or orders among the people requiring to be protected against each other’s encroachments, or holding different relations to the crown, *we cannot attribute the adherence to the system of two chambers* on the part of those who solicited and received the

privilege of establishing these colonial governments, to *any thing but its* PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES for purposes of legislation.

“Still less after the Revolution, and when there no longer existed any such motive as might have influenced the crown in modeling the colonial after the imperial to a certain extent, was it probable that the people of these States should have perpetuated in their constitutions the principle of a division of the Legislature into two chambers *for any other purpose than to secure the practical benefits which they and their ancestors had always found to flow from it.* . . .

“As a new government was now about to be formed, whose theoretical and actual powers were to be so essentially different (from those of the old Confederation), an opportunity was afforded for *the ancient and favorite construction* of the legislative department. . . .

“The happy expedient of selecting the States as the basis of representation in the senate has furnished a really different foundation for the two branches, as distinct as the separate representation of the different orders in the British Constitution. It has thus secured the incidental advantages of two chambers without resorting to those fluctuating and arbitrary distinctions among the people which can never afford, in such a country as ours, even an ostensible difference for the origin of legislative bodies.”*

“The objects of a senate were in the first place that there might be a second chamber with concurrent authority in the enactment of laws. Secondly, that a

* Vol. ii, pp. 130-34.

greater degree of *wisdom and stability* might reside in its deliberations than would be likely to be found in the other branch of the legislative department; thirdly, that *there might be some diversity of interests between the two bodies*. These objects were to be attained only by providing for the senate a distinct and separate basis of its own.”*

“The people of these colonies in general, therefore, saw that nothing was so important in constructing a government with popular institutions as to balance the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, each against the others, so as to leave to neither of them uncontrolled and irresponsible power. In general, too, they understood and had always been accustomed to the applications of *that other fundamental principle essential to well regulated liberty—the division of the legislative power between two separate chambers having distinct origin and of distinct construction*.”†

Webster says that “if all legislative power rested in one house it is very problematical whether any proper independence could be given to either the executive or judiciary. Experience does not speak encouragingly upon this point. If we look through the several constitutions of the States we shall perceive generally that where the departments are most distinct and independent there the legislature is composed of two houses with equal authority and mutual checks. If the legislative power be in one popular body all other power will sooner or later be there also.”

The testimony of all legislative science on this point

* Vol. ii, p. 138.

† Vol. i, p. 119.

is sharp, clear, and incisive. There is but one effectual shield for the defense of constitutionally distributed power from the aggressions of legislative ambition, and that is the division of the legislative body into two distinct and separate houses.

Will any man rise here in his place and deny that in this body there exists a "strong propensity to accumulate all power, patronage, and influence?" We will congratulate the Church on such a denial, on the dawn of sanity, and will take it as an encouragement to proceed in the work of so enfilading our constitution by the double ramparts of a divided legislature that encroachments upon our liberties by this body would be an impossibility.

Will any man rise here and deny that ours is a free constitution, and affirm, with Bishop Hamline, that this body has "universal supremacy;" that all the powers of the law-maker, the judge, and the executioner are lodged in the same hands, thus answering to the very definition of despotic government, and, if true, making our government in fact a despotism? If so, we shall not only sympathize with him in his affliction—for any man who carries such a conviction as that in this free land must be a very sad man and in need of sympathy; but we would sincerely thank him for thus most effectually clinching *on the other side* the two-house argument which we have substantially driven in the interests of a free constitution.

Hear John Adams. After a most searching analysis "of all mixed and free governments which have ever existed, from the earliest records of time," he deduces

the following "great practical truth," which we commend to all disciples of Hamlinean despotism : "Single assemblies without check or balance in a government with all authority collected into one center have been visionary, violent, corrupt, and tyrannical dominations of majorities over minorities." *

* Adams, *Defense of the American Constitution*, vol. iii, p. 402.

CHAPTER XIII.

INJUDICIOUS LEGISLATION TO BE AVOIDED.

DR. PERRINE'S SECOND ARGUMENT IN THE BALTIMORE SPEECH.

AGAIN, sir, the division of this General Conference body into two distinct and separate houses is demanded for the more efficient protection of the interests of the Church against the perils of hasty, indiscreet, and oppressive legislation.

In his *Constitutional History of England*, May says: "Timely delays in legislation, a cautious review of public measures, resistance to the tyranny of majorities and the violence of a faction—the means of judicious compromise are all wanting in a single chamber."*

"One great object," says Chancellor Kent, "of the separation of the legislature into two houses,† acting separately and with co-ordinate powers, is to destroy

* Vol. ii, p. 536.

† Jefferson one day visited Washington, and full as Jefferson was of French views and ideas of politics and every thing else, he zealously attacked the system of two houses of Congress. General Washington replied that Jefferson was much better informed than himself upon such topics, and that he himself would adhere to the experience of English and American history. "You yourself," said the general, "have proved the excellence of two houses this very moment."

"I?" said Jefferson; "how is that?"

"You have," replied the heroic sage, "poured your hot tea from the cup into the saucer to cool it. It is the same thing we desire of the two houses."

the effects of sudden and strong excitements, and of precipitate measures springing from passion, caprice, prejudice, personal influence, and party intrigue, which have been found by sad experience to exercise a potent and dangerous sway in single assemblies. A hasty decision is not so likely to proceed to the solemnities of a law when it is to be arrested in its course, and made to undergo the deliberative, and probably jealous, critical revision of another and rival body of men sitting in another place, and under better advantages to avoid the prepossessions and correct the errors of the other branch." *

But will any one say that these prudential regulations, however self-evident, wise, and invaluable when applied to the legislation of the State, lose much of their significance when applied to the legislation of the Church, which is intended for altogether another purpose and to be enforced by altogether different penalties?

We are quite willing to grant that these objects do respectively differ as the protection and promotion of the spiritual and eternal interests of the Church differ from the protection and promotion of the material and temporal interests of the State ; and that the penalties attached differ as the pains of ecclesiastical censure and exclusion from ecclesiastical privileges differ from the terrors of the sword. Nevertheless, the legislative function is one in Church and State—the enactment of rules and regulations for the *protection and promotion of values*. And shall we not need substantially the same

* *Comment.*, vol. i, p 224.

legislative expedients, the same prudential safeguards, which political science affords?

Will any one affirm that the spiritual and eternal interests to be protected and promoted by the legislation of the Church are less in value than are the material and temporal interests to be secured by the legislation of the State, or that they are more easily and graciously secured?

Will mere goodness reveal more light upon legislative principles than mere patriotism? Is God more likely to intervene miraculously in aid of the legislators of a Church which publishes to the world that "no part of its Church government is inspired," than in aid of the legislators of the State who proclaim their convictions that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and stamp upon the new coinage of the restored republic, "In God we trust?"

Are ecclesiastical legislators less tenacious of their opinions, or less warm in their advocacy of measures which they believe will touch on eternal interests, than the statesmen whose solicitude relates only to the interests of time?

Will any say that the great religious controversies of the world, touching Church doctrine and government, have been less fierce and stormy than those that have related merely to political themes?

Are ministerial councils usually less in haste to get through with the business of the session and to be away than are the legislators of the State, who are paid in proportion to the length of the session?

Would it be difficult to determine in which the

temptation to hasty, indiscreet legislation would be the more urgent?

Can it be said that deliberation, precaution, discretion are virtues of less weight in the legislation of the Church than of the State? that impetuosity, precipitancy, passion, prejudice, are less obnoxious in religious than in political assemblies?*

Can it be said that the consequences of ill-timed and obnoxious legislation in the councils of the Church are less fearful and far-reaching than in those of the State?

Is it to be presumed that the first cords that snapped in the dissolution of the union between the North and the South, amid the excitements of this body in 1844, will be the first that shall be fully restored?

Are the humiliations and griefs of clerical legislators, whose blunders are not only written down in the cold, clear page of history, but memorialized in the continued disasters of the Church, less profound and pungent than those which politicians feel over similar blunders and similar disasters?

Do you suppose it would have cost a political historian more to write up the faithful record of his own well-meant but ill-timed measures than it cost the honor-bright, intrepid spirit of Dr. Charles Elliott, whose generous and chivalric nature had prompted him

* "Judge Hubbard characterized the General Conference (of 1872) as an undeliberate body without a leader and without influence, doing business in a hap-hazard manner. Dr. Charles Bennett corroborated Judge Hubbard's characterization of the General Conference. It was almost impossible to get the floor, and amid the bustle and confusion he many times wished himself at home."—*North-western*, August 28, 1872.

to move as a peace measure the adoption of the so-called "plan of separation," when called upon by this body to write up the record of its disastrous workings?

We affirm it, the man who could, in his close self-control, write out as he wrote the sentence of his own condemnation for the eye of all subsequent time, is "greater than he that taketh a city."

We copy a fragment of that heroic, self-crucifying sentence: "In regard to the plan of separation, the following may be put down as the common opinion into which the facts in the case have brought the mind of the Church; namely, the plan either *ab initio* or *de jure*, or in its relations, connections, or consequences, is *unconstitutional!*"*

Need I say that the man who could write such a sentence is worthy of a monument that should rake the clouds, and, towering in the gaze of the ages to come, should stand not only as the fitting memorial of that candor and devotion to the interests of truth and the Church which triumphs over the humiliation of self, but as a shaft of admonition and terror to all hasty and impetuous legislators in the Church; for let it never be forgotten that every resolution of that most unconstitutional, disastrous, and humiliating "plan of separation" was passed under the whip of the "previous question!!!"

And allow me, brethren, after first invoking with confidence on the part of many of the noblest within the reach of my voice the same candor, the same intrepid devotion to the interests of the Church, the same

* *History of Great Secession*, p. 542.

triumph in that devotion over the humiliations of self that has forever glorified the name of Charles Elliott—permit me, I beg of you, to refer to another illustration of the dangers and follies of hasty and impetuous legislation in the Church. We allude to the passage of the Plan of Lay Delegation—a plan (tell it not in Gath!) drafted over night and next morning rushed through this body, *without printing (! !)* and almost without discussion; and yet, forsooth, “recommended to the godly consideration of the Church!!!” Was ever “godly consideration” so illustrated and enforced?

Mr. President, there are “mysteries of godliness” which I most devoutly believe—that is, I believe the *fact* revealed, notwithstanding the mystery of the cause concealed. But, sir, such was the bewilderment produced by the legislative velocity with which this body flew over the ground of the plan at Chicago that neither they nor any one in the whole field of the Church besides seem to have been able to catch even a glimpse of any thing like a fact or event of “godly consideration” in the whole history of the plan, thus far, that could challenge for an instant the faith of the world.

Will any one affirm that the plan was submitted to the “godly consideration” of the laity, and that they could have expressed their godly judgment of its merits at the polls? Every editor in the Church exclaimed, “No, no! The vote of the laity is not for or against the *plan*, but for or against the *principle*, of lay representation. The plan can be modified by the next General Conference *ad libitum*.” And they were right. The vote of the laity was on the principle, not on the

plan; and that caution, passed along the recoiling line again and again, alone saved the cause among the laity, for objections against the plan sprang up like a darkening host of armed men, threatening its very existence if once brought within the reach of their bullet-like ballots. The fact of "godly consideration" was not yet.

Does any one suppose that the plan was submitted to the "godly consideration" of the members of the Annual Conferences, and that it was ever placed within reach of their ballot? If so they are quite in error, for Bishop Simpson, who had evidently made a careful analysis of the mysteries of the plan, stated at many, if not all, the Annual Conferences presided over by him, with the utmost perspicuity and justness, that "the vote of the Conference is not to be on the plan, but simply and alone on the alteration of the restrictive rule." *

This just and timely caution saved the cause among the ministry, for bitter and indignant hostility to the plan was turned aside, and its enemies persuaded to vote "aye" on the principle by the emphatic declaration that "the plan would be in the hands of the next General Conference to alter and amend at pleasure; that these modifications could include every thing except the number of lay delegates." †

The Annual Conferences could not touch the plan, even in the remotest degree, by their votes. The "godly consideration" recommended was yet in the future! Did we look forward to the opening of the

* *Zion's Herald*, April 21, 1870.

† *Ibid.*, May 5, 1870.

General Conference at Brooklyn for some modifications of the plan before the laymen were admitted? Not with much hope; for, amazing as it may seem, no sooner had the desired majority among people and preachers been achieved than an early “manifesto” of some of the committee that drafted that over-night plan, which had prudently been allowed to slumber, was sent out among all the thousands of our Israel, proclaiming to astonished multitudes that “a provisional plan of lay delegation is so determined that *it* and no other can become the law of the Church!” And so a pressure of “honor bound to the laity” was so successfully worked up that the plan was shot through the opening session before the powder of the previous question with most astonishing velocity; and, what is most surprising of all, the laymen themselves, none of whom could have fully approved the plan, after ramming it down the grooves of their convention, came in, and by resolutions shot it off and on, without debate, for at least four years more! We stand here to-day, at the expiration of the aforesaid four years, to announce that the “godly consideration” so singularly recommended, after eight full calendar years is still to come. With the millennium, it is still in the future.

Will any one claim that these marvelous opportunities for playing fast and loose according to the perils or urgencies of the times, so far from being blunders, were the convincing evidence of the prophet-like sagacity of the drafters of that plan? We shudder, sir, at the dishonor such an imputation would cast upon the fair fame of the noblest and ablest and *truest* men we

have among us; men who are entirely incapable of such duplicity, such double-dealing. The fault, sir, was not in the men, but in the impetuous methods of all single and overgrown assemblies. The disease is *chronic*. It is incorporate in our system. The same system which gave to the committee appointed "to prepare," in reply to the Southern protest of 1844, "a document in relation to some of the most important questions that ever engaged the attention of the Church" only the few brief hours that intervened between "Saturday evening, June 8, and Monday, June 10, late in the afternoon session!!!"* gave at Chicago, in 1868, to the Committee on the Plan of Lay Delegation, which was to establish or overturn the scriptural foundations on which our fathers had built up so prayerfully and zealously the whole superstructure of our Church government, "a night session!!!" We need not say, sir, that the system which can permit such indecent haste, such impetuosity in the gravest legislation of the Church, is but little credit to it—that it calls aloud for amendment; that the specific remedy which legislative science points out is the check of distinct and separate houses—the *legislative brake*, with which the Church may shut down upon all such crude and hastily prepared legislative schemes; by which it may COMPEL deliberation.

* *History of the Great Secession*, p. 347.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE IMPORTANT INTERESTS TO BE PROTECTED.

THIRD ARGUMENT IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE SPEECH.

THE division of this body into two distinct and separate houses is demanded for the better protection of the interests of the ministerial and lay *orders* so distinctly recognized in the plan, and so decidedly marked on all the pages of the Church's history.

As to the origin or authority of these orders in the scriptural organism of the Church we are not, in this argument, particularly concerned. It will be sufficient for our purpose to observe that these orders have always existed, and that they probably always will exist in the militant Church, and especially that they are the *de facto* orders of the plan with which we have to do.

The mutual liability of these orders to encroach upon each other's prerogatives is a fact which cannot well be denied. History abounds in the most melancholy illustrations and startling evidences of the existence of imminent and fearful peril.

The usurpation by the order of the clergy of nearly all the sacred rights and privileges of the laity constitutes the long-continued and powerful ecclesiastical despotism of Rome, and the arrogation to the order of the laity of at least some of the sacred rights and scriptural functions of the order of the ministry has

given us the comparative weakness and inefficiency of many of the sects of Protestantism.

But, sir, we need not argue this point. The provision for "a separate vote" in the plan concedes the demand there is for protection.* To accomplish our purpose we have but to point out to this body a few of the main evidences that the provisions of the plan are inadequate to secure the rights of either order, especially of the laity. It is a fact of marvelous significance that there is nothing in the plan to designate the number of either order that shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The order of the laity, at the last General Conference, might have been left out of the quorum altogether without in the least violating the letter of the plan; for there were more than "two thirds of the whole number of ministerial and lay delegates" in the clerical order alone, out of which the quorum could have been formed.

On the last day of the Brooklyn session, in which some of the most important business of the session was transacted, nearly two thirds of the laymen were absent, and, so far as the plan was concerned, might all have

* In a speech before the Brooklyn General Conference in 1872 Judge Goodrich, of Rock River, spoke of the provision for voting separately, when either order should demand it, as follows: "This measure, it seems to me, is one of *protection*, not of aggression, a power by which the laymen as well as the ministry can protect themselves; and if the laity attempt to enroach upon the rights of the ministry they can protect themselves; that was all that was intended by those who originated this scheme."—*Daily Christian Advocate*, May 22, 1872.
—J. H. P.

been so without invalidation to the legislation of the session in the slightest degree. A plan making no provision against such possible contingencies, sir, certainly does not furnish the surest safeguard of the interests of the laity in the General Conference, and political sagacity can never justify such laxity of legal restraint, or such possible remissness on the part of the chosen representatives of the people under the plan. Political science never trusts the interests of a certain class to the mere generosity or goodness of another class. It fortifies the interests of each class in the very structure of the government, so that the defensive ramparts of each class shall enfilade the threatening positions of every aggressive class.

Again, and here we shake, as with our foot, the veriest *bog* that was ever under a tottering structure. The interests of both orders are equally imperiled by the amazing fact that to a small minority, without superior facilities for reaching maturer or safer conclusions, power is given to bar a majority!!

In the United States Senate, where the previous question is never moved, where discussion is absolutely unrestricted, where the incumbents hold their positions by a tenure three times as long as the representatives of the people, and are thus three times as far removed from all popular waves of excitement, with more than three times the advantages for arriving at juster judgments and maturer measures—there legislative wisdom will allow a minority of senators to check or bar a majority of representatives; but in the plan of Episcopal Methodism a small minority, sitting in the same

overgrown assembly, listening to the same speeches, under the same waves of popular excitement, subject to the manipulations of the same adroit leadership, amazing as it may seem, have organic power to bar a large majority, and to thus effectually control all legislation! Were the fundamental principles of democracy and legislative science ever more conspicuously violated?

How can the interests of either order be safe under the workings of a plan which, according to the most favorable interpretation possible, may subject the entire legislation of the Church to the dictation of twenty-three laymen, and which, according to the interpretation most natural and evident, places it at the mercy of five only!

Are you skeptical? Look at it. We will take the best possible principle of interpretation to which the plan may be subjected; namely, that no less than one third of the whole number of either order elect can demand a separate vote. Now, sir, the whole number of laymen in the present body is one hundred and thirty-five, and one third of the whole number is forty-five, who alone can order a separate vote. But the vote once ordered, a majority of this number, or twenty-three, may concur in or defeat every measure in the legislation of the Church!!!

Now, sir, take what may be called the worst principle of interpretation, and yet, as we believe, the most natural and sensible, that "one third of either order," *in the quorum* which is ready for the transaction of business, may order a separate vote. But if all the clerical

delegates are present *fifteen* laymen only will be necessary to constitute a quorum, and *five*, or one third of that number, may order a separate vote, and thus *key, bolt, or bar* the entire legislation of Episcopal Methodism! *

Objectionable and preposterous as this may seem, sir, we regret to say that this possibility of a small minority barring a large majority of the Conference does not fully exhibit the imminent perils of the plan; for, this call for a separate vote being *optional*, we have precisely the condition for the natural and inevitable development of those suspicions, jealousies, and counterplottings which, in the natural *hot-bed* of a single overgrown popular assembly, can but operate to the prejudice, if not the destruction, of all the interests of either order involved. In the Episcopal General Convention both orders *invariably* vote separately, according to constitutional provision, and thus avoid at least one

* Bishop Harris ruled at Baltimore, Saturday, May 26, 1876, that "one third of the laymen present in the quorum may order a separate vote." In the same General Conference, under a call for the previous question, James S. Smart moved the adoption of the following:

"*Resolved*, That the vote be taken by the ministers and laymen separately."

A question of order having been raised concerning the call for a separate vote, Bishop Simpson decided that the separate vote of the ministry could be called for only by a minister, and the separate vote of the laity only by a layman, and that if on such a call one third of either order made such a demand, the separate vote must be taken. From this decision the mover of the resolution appealed, but the ruling of the bishop was sustained by the Conference.—*Journal*, 1872, pp. 147, 148.

occasion of stirring up bad blood between the differing orders in the body.*

For the protection of all the interests of the various orders of society in the field of legislation, history has vindicated the wisdom not only of a separate vote, but of separate deliberations—of separate houses. This idea of the protection of orders is the very root out of which the political wisdom of the ages has branched into the divisions of the legislative body. From the days of Homer to our own the thorough-going, practical sense of the world has provided separate houses for the protection of distinct classes of orders in society.

Among the Greeks there was the *Boula*, or council of the elders, who, as Homer tells us, sat in a circle around the king as counselors for the protection of the interests of royalty. And then there was the

* At the General Conference of 1872 Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, having asked for a separate vote of the two orders in the election of bishops, Judge Goodrich, of Rock River, said: "I am very sorry that in this body, on such an important occasion as this, there has come such a call as this. I supposed that we had come here on an equality, and I did not think that there was any layman on this floor that would ask that in the election of bishops thirty-four laymen should control this General Conference. (Hear! hear!) It seems to me in such a vote as this it is preposterous, and I believe it is the entering wedge of a separation on other questions, and the arousing of a spirit of antagonism between the laity and the ministry which was never contemplated by those who voted that lay delegation should be introduced into the General Conference. . . . It seems to me it is wrong—a *great wrong*—and I hope it will never be perpetuated here." The call was not sustained, over two thirds of the laymen voting in the negative.—J. H. P.

Agora, the tentative assembly of the people, to which the king used to come down to "feel his way," meeting with smiles or frowns, cheers of approbation or hollow murmurs of dissent, as his propositions pleased or offended them.

Among the Romans, the civil law-givers of the world, the *Senate*, the members of which represented the three hundred sovereign clans of Rome, was especially the bulwark of the prerogatives of royalty, and the *Comitia Curiata* or *Centuriata* the protectors of their respective constituencies among the people. Out of these, the natural *tentaculæ* of the old monarchies, the distinct and separate legislative organs of constitutional monarchies and of the free republics of more recent times have been developed. The House of Lords, the natural protectors of constitutional royalty, and the House of Commons, the champions of the people, have always, at least so far as history has thrown its light, *sat and deliberated apart*. "The opinion that the several estates sat and voted together," says Lingard, "derives no support from the rolls. It is evident," he continues, "that as their grants, their petitions, and *their interests were different they would deliberate separately*, and we find the chancellor after he had proposed to them in common the subjects for their consideration, pointed out to them different chambers in which they should assemble."*

Hallam, one of the most reliable of historians, says: "That they (the two houses of Parliament) were ever intermingled in voting appears inconsistent with likeli-

* Lingard's *History of England*, vol. iv, p. 120.

hood and authority. . . . There is abundance of proof of their separate existence long before the seventeenth year of Edward III. The Commons sat at Acton Burnell, while the upper house was at Shrewsbury." *

All authorities agree that throughout a period of three hundred years, while the House of Lords convened in Westminster Hall, which was built expressly for them by Rufus, the House of Commons held its sessions in a department of Westminster Abbey. The philosophy of protection in these separate sittings is well given in the following from Blackstone: "The nobility," says our author, "are the pillars which are reared from the people more immediately for the support of the throne. And since titles of nobility are thus expedient to the State, *it is also expedient* that they should form a *separate branch* of the Legislature."

If they were confounded with the mass of the people, and like them had only a vote in electing representatives, their privileges would soon be borne down and overwhelmed by the popular torrent, which would effectually level all *distinctions therefrom*. It is *highly necessary* that the body of the nobles should have a *distinct assembly, distinct deliberations, and distinct powers from the Commons*. †

And De Lolme says: "The representatives of the people, on the other hand, do not fail to procure for themselves every advantage that may enable them to use the powers with which they have been intrusted, and to adopt every rule of proceeding that may make

* Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, p. 26.

† *Comment.*, vol. i, p. 57.

their resolutions to be *truly* the result of *reflection* and *deliberation*. *Thus* it was," says this astute writer, "that the representatives of the English nation, soon after their first establishment, became formed into a *separate assembly*."*

We hazard nothing in the statement that the laity of the last General Conference *did more for the protection of their rights, as an order*, in the three or four hours in which they were convened as a distinct and separate deliberative body, at Washington Street Church, than in all the weeks of that protracted session besides. Distinct and separate assemblies for the protection of different orders is the *common sense* of history.

* *Constitutional History of England*, p. 248.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DIVISION OF LABOR PRINCIPLE.

FOURTH ARGUMENT OF THE BALTIMORE SPEECH.

AGAIN, sir, the division of our legislative body into two distinct and separate houses is demanded by the highest and most authoritative principle of civilization—*the division of labor principle*.

We shall not attempt, before so learned a body as this, the elucidation of one of the most fundamental postulates found in every text-book on political economy in Christendom. All study, all observation, all experience, attest its validity. Special aptitudes, special opportunity, special effort, and consequent special qualifications, give genuine economy of time, economy of labor, economy of capital—whether of brain or money—and genuine economy of results. The common sense of the world goes to reputable physicians with its questions of medicine; to first-class lawyers with its points of law; to famous financiers with its problems of finance; and as naturally to the distinguished sages of the Christian ministry with its questions of ecclesiastical polity.

This principle, sir, originating in the special functions of the differing persons of the Godhead, in the great work of redemption, illustrated in the distribution of a universe of varying physical, mental, and moral forces

to their particular ends, and enthroned on the very summits of Christian civilization, we would naturally suppose it might be introduced with profit into the legislation of the Church.

Indeed, sir, that very division of the legislative body which is demanded for the protection of the free constitution of the Church, for the protection of its general interests from the perils of hasty and indiscreet legislation, and especially for the mutual protection of the two great and distinctive orders of the Church, affords us precisely the condition for the most happy and thorough application of this most authoritative principle. It is evident, at a glance, that the division of any legislative body into two distinct and separate houses must double the number of speakers on the floor, must double the number of hours of deliberation, both in the committees and in the sessions of the bodies each day—thus doubling, of course, the freedom of debate and the consequent thoroughness and safety of legislation.

As measures prepared with a degree of care that dare challenge the clear, cold, impartial, and searching scrutiny of a rival house could with safety be much more speedily disposed of in the concurring body, there would be on the whole a manifest economy of time, as well as greater security of interests, in our Church councils. In the triennial sessions of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, such is the practical value of this doubling of the hours, powers, and facilities for deliberation that they are enabled to diminish the time usually occupied by single houses in their sessions nearly, if not quite, one half. Thus, although the Gen-

eral Convention of 1865 met in Philadelphia on October 4, and the published Journal of their proceedings is quite as voluminous as that of our General Conference of 1860, yet they were enabled to adjourn on the 24th of the same month, occupying in their deliberations, exclusive of three Sundays, but seventeen days.

Where the *initiative* in certain classes of measures is respectively given to each house, the economy of time, labor, and legislative capital or talent, in the highest possible degree, will be most impressively illustrated.

Thus, while the House of Lords is discussing the prerogatives of the crown, or the privileges of the peerage, the House of Commons could most economically occupy the same time in giving origin and form to their "money bills," a *right* which the representatives of the people in England have held for ages with an ever-tightening constitutional grasp.

To come a little nearer home: While the senators of the United States, upon whom rests with special responsibility the duty of determining our relations with the nations of the earth, are engrossed in discussing the provisions of a foreign treaty, or in debating those fundamental principles or deep-laid conditions upon which the *finance* of nations and of the world must forever rest, the more immediate representatives of the people can be economically engaged in giving origin and concrete form to revenue or appropriation bills. Or still further, to come directly home: While the clerical senators of the Methodist Episcopal Church should, in obedience to the behests of the highest legislative wisdom, be engaged in framing measures for the

well-governing of the Church in things spiritual, for which their constant experience in the administration of moral discipline ought especially to fit them, the House of Lay Representatives will illustrate the *divine* economy there is in the division of labor principle by engaging meanwhile, as the especial and immediate representatives of the people, in giving origin and form to all measures of finance and temporalities; for which all must agree that their life-work *ought*, at least, to have especially fitted them.

CHAPTER XVI.

HARMONY AND UNITY TO BE RESTORED.

FIFTH ARGUMENT OF THE BALTIMORE SPEECH.

THE division of this General Conference body into two distinct, separate, and concurring houses—with the initiative as above described—is demanded as the express and only possible means for the perfect restoration of harmony and unity between the apparently hopeless and most deplorable antagonisms that exist between the principles of the *old* and *new* politics of Methodism.

The divine economy, grounded in the eternal fitness of legislative things, and rising, as we have seen, in the division of labor principle to the very summit of the loftiest civilization, shall save us *more* than time, more than labor, more than capital; it shall save to us the most precious of all earthly legacies: the unsullied honor of our *fathers*.

That the fathers of Methodism, its founders under God, both in England and in America, held with absolute unanimity and positiveness of conviction the *especial responsibility* of the Christian ministry, as the officers appointed by the great Head of the Church for the feeding and governing of the flock of Christ in spiritual things, the following *consensus* will forever put beyond a question.

Hear John Wesley. In his Journal* he says:

“*The Church has a perpetual succession of pastors divinely appointed and divinely assisted.*” On Rev. i, 20, “The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches,” he thus writes in his Notes: “In each church there was one pastor, or ruling minister, to whom all the rest were subordinate. This pastor, bishop, or overseer had the peculiar care of his flock. On him the prosperity of that congregation in a great measure depended, and he was to answer for all their souls at the judgment-seat of Christ.” And in the second chapter he continues: “The seven churches, with their seven angels, represent the whole Christian Church, as it subsists in every age.” “This,” he says, “is a point of deep importance, and always necessary to be remembered: that these seven churches are, as it were, a sample of the whole Church of Christ, as it was then, is now, and as it will be in all ages.” In his sermon on the text, “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls as they that must give an account” (Heb. xiii, 17), John Wesley has, we believe, gone safely between the Scylla of Romanism, on the one hand, and the Charybdis of Congregationalism on the other. “Many of the Romanists,” he says, “believe an implicit faith is due to the doctrine delivered by those who rule over them, and that implicit obedience ought to be paid to whatever commands they give. And not much less has been insisted on by several eminent men of the Church of England; although it is true that the generality of Prot-

* Vol. ii, p. 89.

estants are apt to run to the other extreme, allowing their pastors no authority at all, but making them both the *creatures* and the servants of their congregations. And very many of the English Church there are who agree with them, supposing that the pastor is altogether dependent upon the people, who, in their judgment, have a right to *direct*, as well as to choose, their ministers." "But is it not possible," he asks, "to find a medium between these two extremes? Is there any necessity for us to run either into one or the other? If we set human laws out of the question and *attend to the oracles of God*, we may certainly discover a middle path in this important matter."

What ! Wesley appealing to the "oracles of God" on the most important question of Church government that could possibly be raised, the relation of the pastor and people, when "no part of our Church government is inspired !" Amazing as it may seem, John Wesley *did* so appeal, and the conclusion he reached is one which never can be invalidated by any one who admits that obedience to pastors is *enjoined* in the word of God ; a conclusion that not only is the field of *optional* legislation in the Church bounded by the oracles of God—by the mountains of positive enactments on the one hand, and the "great gulfs" of positive prohibitions on the other—but that this divinely limited field of *optional* legislation is *precisely the domain* over which *the Scriptures* install the pastor, elder, or bishop as the spiritual governor of the flock of God. Mark the resistless vigor of his logic : "The things which they (the pastors) *enjoin*, must be either *enjoined*

of God, forbidden by him, or indifferent" (that is, optional).

"In things *forbidden* of God," he continues, "we dare not obey them, for we are to obey God rather than man. In things enjoined of God we do not properly obey them, but our common Father; *therefore*, if we obey them at all it must be in things indifferent (optional). The sum is, it is the duty of every private Christian to obey his spiritual pastor by either doing or leaving undone any thing of an indifferent (optional) nature; that is, any thing in no way determined in the word of God." "How little is this," he exclaims, "understood in the *Protestant world*;" and yet he says, "*there is not a more express command* in the Old or New Testament. *No word can be more clear and plain; no command more direct and positive.*"*

And yet, sir, John Wesley's statement with reference to the higher and optional officers sometimes elected by the pastors or elders, "that neither Christ nor his apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government," is forthwith made to cancel all that he has so explicitly and authoritatively said with reference to the scriptural relations of pastors and people!

God has "prescribed no particular *form*" of the nose for the adornment of the "human face divine." Neither the Roman, the Grecian, nor any other pattern can claim to be the "particularly prescribed form." These all vary in their outlines or contour with the surroundings of every nation and every individual. And yet it is pretty generally believed among Methodists that the

* Vol. ii, p. 327.

function of smelling, the same in all forms, is ordained of God ! The form and color of all eyes may differ, yet the *function* of vision, the same in all “particular forms,” is doubtless divinely *prescribed*. So “particular forms” of Church government may vary, and yet the *essential functions* of pastors and people in the organism of the Christian Church may be ordained of God, and remain forever the same.

What matters the differing names of divine, dominie, doctor, elder, presbyter, preacher, minister, pastor, or teacher ! Is not the function of the ministry substantially the same in all the Churches, and is not the pastoral function—of spiritually guiding, leading, feeding, governing the flock—ordained of God ? And what matters the differing names of deacon, steward, vestryman, etc. ! Is not the function of temporalities substantially the same in all the Churches, and was not that function ordained of God ? So Wesley believed, and so believed John Fletcher, who “was of one heart and one soul” with John Wesley.

He says, “The evangelical ministry is substantially the same through every age.” “The commission which the great apostle received contained essentially nothing more than the acknowledged duty of every minister of the Gospel.” Again, “Our pious reformers were unanimously of the opinion that Christ appoints, and in some sort inspires, all true pastors; that he *commits the flock to their keeping*, and that their principal care is the same with that of the first evangelists.”* Writing to Dr. Price, of Bristol, he makes the following case: “The

* Works, vol. iii, p. 20.

majority of a certain congregation of Protestants in Bristol expressed a desire to have you for their pastor, and upon this title you were ordained. But does it follow that your authority to preach the Gospel ascends from your flock to you? If your congregation insisted upon your preaching to them smooth things, or prophesying deceits, *because* they chose you to be their minister, would you not directly convince them of their *folly*? Would you not say, ‘Gentlemen, though I am your minister, and though I was ordained in consequence of your suffrages, yet *now* that I am *ordained*, I have an *authority* you never gave, nor can give?’”

These are the sentiments of the man, sir, who drove the Wesleyan war chariots, all aflame with lightnings of Bible logic, along the entire line of the Arminian battle. The authority of the pastor is simply that of an elective *office*, but that office is *empowered* by Him who “gave some pastors and teachers for the perfecting of saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;” just as the *authority* of President Grant, in a constitutional office, is the authority which comes not directly from those who elect him, but from the Constitution, the organic law of the States, enacted three fourths of a century ago.

Richard Watson, who, as Dr. Stevens says, “was the most commanding intellect of Wesleyan Methodism,” says: “That these elders or presbyters had the power of government cannot be denied, because it is *expressly assigned* to them in the Scriptures; it was *inherent* in their pastoral office.”* This “most commanding intel-

* *Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 597.

lect" tells us that "the term pastor implies the duties of instruction and government, of feeding and ruling the flock of Christ; and as the presbyters or bishops were ordained in the several Churches both by the apostles and the evangelists, and rules are left by St. Paul as to their appointment, there can be no doubt that these are the pastors spoken of in Eph. iv, 11, (as of divine appointment), and that they were designed to be the permanent ministers of the Church, and that with them both the government of the Church and the performance of its leading religious services were deposited." * And again: "There seems, therefore, to be the most conclusive evidence from the New Testament that, after the extraordinary ministry vested in apostles, prophets, and evangelists had ceased, the feeding and oversight—that is, the teaching and government of the Churches—devolved upon an *order* of men indiscriminately called pastors, presbyters, and bishops." † And with Richard Watson the fathers of American Methodism most fully and cordially agree.

Coke and Asbury declare, in their notes on the Discipline, that the "office of elder" is one which every organized Church in the world and in all ages has adopted." They are very clear and explicit in their remarks. On Heb. xiii, 7, 17, they observe: "The persons here described as having the *rule*, and a right to obedience and submission, were persons who had spoken the word of God to the people and watched over their souls, consequently were their preachers and pastors."—P. 335.

* *Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 575.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 576.

"The pastors are the persons responsible to God, and therefore should be by no means fettered in their pastoral care."—P. 332.

"The word of God is that on which we principally stand, knowing well that every passage which relates to this subject is wholly on our side."—P. 336. And "this commission," they tell us, is "to all ministering servants to the end of the world."—P. 306.

"If the Church," says Dr. Whedon, "would teach her sons to reason well, and to defend her institutes, let them study John Emory." We like that, but what does Bishop John Emory say to the sons of the Church? Hear him:

1. "We offer our doctrines and Discipline *not as inventions of our own*, but as a summary of what we believe to be in the Bible, with such prudential means and regulations as we think best calculated to enable us as a body to carry them into effect, to fulfill an efficient pastoral oversight."

Again Bishop John Emory says: "The great Head of the Church has imposed on us the duty of preaching the Gospel, of administering its ordinances, and maintaining its moral discipline among those over whom the Holy Ghost hath in these respects made us overseers. Of these also, namely, of Gospel doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline, we do believe that the divinely instituted ministry are the divinely authorized expounders, and that the duty of maintaining them in their purity, and of not permitting our ministrations in these respects to be authoritatively controlled by others, does rest upon us with the force of a moral obligation,

in the due discharge of which *our consciences are involved*. . . . It is on this ground that we resist the temptations of temporal advantage which the proposed changes hold out to us.”*

2. Again: “To invest the ministry with any authority other than that which strictly belongs to their pastoral office, agreeably to Gospel order, is utterly foreign to our desire. But if, on the other hand, they are to be *authoritatively controlled* by others in relation to doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline, then is there, in our judgment, an end of mutual rights and of the *peculiar functions of the Christian ministry*.”—P. 180.

It was once a popular thing to have a “conscience” on Church government. The whole General Conference of 1828 said their “consciences were involved” in this question of ministerial powers. Alas, how have the mighty fallen! Our last quotation upon this point shall be from the pen of that distinguished lay defender of the fathers, Dr. Bond. He says: “We believe the Scriptures nowhere prescribe any form of government for the Christian Church. This, however,” he modestly adds, “is only our opinion.”† But what can Dr. Bond mean by that?—that every thing in Church government is optional, every thing at the shaping or molding of circumstances, nothing permanent, no divine constancy? Hear him: “Church government, then, cannot bear any just analogy to a commonwealth or a republic, the essential element of which is that the whole system of government is a conventional agreement or

* *Life of John Emory*, p. 180. † *Economy of Methodism*, p. 23.

compact, which may be modified from time to time by those who framed it as circumstances may require, or be utterly changed by the governed. . . . The Church of Christ is his kingdom. He has the absolute sovereignty over it, having enacted a complete, perfect code, which no man or council may repeal, alter, add to, or subtract from, and obedience to which is promised by every subject of this kingdom.”—P. 5. “In Church government the supreme power is acknowledged to reside in one only Lord and Lawgiver, to whose authority all must submit implicitly. And it is further admitted that he also selects and *appoints* officers, who are to execute his commandments. The first is to ‘preach the Gospel to every creature,’ etc. The next commandment is that these officers shall take the ‘oversight’ of the Church as those who must give an account of the members to God. And,” he adds, “it would seem to follow that they must devise the rules and regulations which are *necessary* to the execution of the trust confided to them—the preaching of the Gospel and the oversight of those who are converted by their ministry.”—P. 4. We need go no further.

But how have these convictions been regarded? Is it a graceful, a fitting thing for a child to strike its parent? Is it a thing to be commended that Methodists should throw dirt upon the reputation of the fathers; that they should trample the profoundest convictions of such men in the dust; that they should scout as mere drivel the convictions that were deeper than the love of life, stronger than the fear of death; the convictions that thrust them out, that sent them—the self-

denying, soul-loving heralds of salvation—through the world?—convictions that made them and made the Church, and made us; convictions out of which, under God, sprang up as from a deep and well-nourished root our fair tree of Methodism, with its spreading branches, bearing the laity as fruit unto eternal life!

But alas, sir, what have we done? If we have not denounced the whole tree as evil, we have, in our revolutionary zeal, girdled its governmental trunk with the battle-ax of “despotism;” we have thrown the stones of “hierarchy” at its branches; we have struck with a pick-ax cry of “popery,” until the tap-root of this conviction has been severed; nay, with gigantic effort we have upturned the deep-rooted convictions of our fathers, shaken from the dry fibers nearly every particle of dust, (for has not one of our venerable leaders said, “No part of our Church government is inspired?”) And in inverting our governmental tree we have planted the branches under the soil, with the *roots in the air!* “Pastors, obey them that have the rule over you in the plan, and submit yourselves, for minorities are now in the place of the word!!!”

A recent philosophic writer of Methodism says, “the Church has made a grave departure!” Departure! So far as the theory of our fathers was concerned, it has made a *change of base* from heaven to earth. According to the fathers, Christ appoints and in some sense inspires all true pastors, and commits the flock to their keeping—that is, for the teaching and *governing* of the Church. According to the dominant theory of to-day, the people are the source of power, and Christ

has little or nothing to do with Church government—
 “He is Head over all things to the Church” *except in church government!!!*

That it should have been deemed desirable that laymen should participate in the legislation of the Church we do not wonder. But that it should ever have been proffered or accepted on a principle that rides roughshod over the most sacred and profound convictions of our fathers is to me a matter of utter astonishment, especially as, in the light of the most authoritative principles of legislative science and of the highest reaches of civilization and of fundamental Methodism, it was so absolutely, so utterly uncalled for.

The two-house argument is at least American—in its foundations. Is it not fundamentally Methodist also? Let us see. Our fathers never taught that pastors were lords—the absolute and irresponsible dictators—of the Church. There were, sir, at an infinite remove from such a position. John Wesley can speak for them all. “Is *mutual consent*,” asks the founder of Methodism, “absolutely necessary between the pastor and the flock?” His answer is: “No question. I cannot guide any soul unless he *consent* to be guided by me; neither can any soul force me to guide him *if I consent not*. Does the ceasing of this *consent* on either side dissolve the relation? It must, in the very nature of things. If a man no longer *consent* to be guided by me; I am no longer his guide, I am free. If one will not guide me any longer, I am free to seek one who will.” *

* Stevens's *History of Methodism*, vol. i, p. 313.

That is it. In the judgment of our fathers the Christian Church was a purely voluntary association, in which pastors and people were perfectly free to follow their own convictions as the loving, devoted servants of Christ and of each other, *but each in the functions assigned by the Master*. The governing function of the pastorate was simply *the ministry of service, not of domination*. It implied the freest and fullest concurrence of the laity. And the specific functions of the stewards in the "ministry of tables," or of temporalities, as fully implied the general supervision or concurrence of the ministry of the word.

Here, sir, in this *most fundamental* postulate of Wesleyan Church government, we have the broad, deep, and eternally abiding foundations for our two distinct and separate, yet concurring, houses of the Church legislature. By placing the power of shaping all legislative measures of moral discipline in the Clerical Senate, on the one hand, or of the bills of finance—measures on the temporalities of the Church—in the House of Lay Representatives, on the other, and by giving the power of mutual concurrence, rejection, or amendment to each, we shall not only secure precisely that *distribution of responsibilities* in which our fathers so religiously believed, but, so far as legislation can do it, the highest degree of liberty, safety, peace, prosperity, and power for the whole Church.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH TO BE EXEMPLIFIED.

SIXTH ARGUMENT IN THE BALTIMORE SPEECH.

IN conclusion, Mr. President, we beg leave to show that the division of this body into two distinct, separate and concurrent houses, each with its own *initiative* in special measures, will most fully accord with the structure, specific functions, and precedents of the *Church* of the New Testament Scriptures, and thus not only honor our fathers, but Christ and his apostles, in whom they believe as the founders of the Church for all lands and all ages.

The structure of the New Testament, or apostolic Church, was not simply a mechanical mass, an aggregation of individual Christians. It was an organism; a personality; the living "Body of Christ." In the distribution of specific functions to particular members of this organism, the triumph of the division of labor principle was never more complete; for the Holy Ghost was palpably, visibly present in the Church, "the self-same Spirit *dividing* to every man severally *as he will*"; for as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ." "God hath set the members every one of them to the body as it hath pleased him." "Ye are the body of Christ and mem-

bers *in particular*. And God hath set some in the Church; first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers?" Again it is written: "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints . . . for the edifying of the body of Christ: that we . . . may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: *from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth*, according to the effectual working in the measure of *every part*, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." Eph. iv, 8-16.

"For as we have many members in one body, and *all members have not the same office*, so we, being many, are one body, and every one members one of another. Note the force of the apostolic logic: "Having then gifts *differing* according to the *grace given to us*, whether prophecy, let us prophecy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; *he that ruleth* with diligence." Rom. xii, 6-8. Nothing here is generic; every thing is specific. No Jacobinic leveling; no atheistic communism, but a sublime personality—a mighty moral organism, the body of Christ; in which wondrous synthesis of "members in particular" every specific function is to be performed by its own particular organ.

Having established this fundamental doctrine of *specialties as inherent* in the very structure of the primi-

tive Church, we proceed to show that the specialties *most distinctly and authoritatively demarked* from each other in the administrations of the early Church were precisely those with which in this discussion we have to do. All spiritual interests of the organism were grouped together by apostolic authority and placed under the special "Ministry of the Word." And all secular interests of the organism, were by that authority that had power "*to bind or loose*" in heaven, completely set apart from those spiritual interests and placed in special charge of the official laymen of the Church.

"One of the first acts in the organization of the early Christian Church," says the distinguished Dr. Crooks, the general-in-chief of the lay movement, "was the separation of the temporal concerns from the spiritual work," quoting in proof of his statement a portion of the sixth chapter of Acts.* We beg leave to quote a little more in full from this most interesting chapter: "Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, *It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables.* Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, *whom we may appoint over this business.* But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the whole multitude." (It was a popular doctrine then, and ought to be so now.) "And they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon,

* *Methodist*, May 1, 1875.

and Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch; whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly." Acts vi, 2-7.

That these "seven" were laymen *at the time* of their appointment is evident from the fact that they were *not* of the number of those who said, "It is not reason that *we* should leave the *word of God* to serve tables"—to which latter service the seven were expressly appointed.

Dr. Whedon, in the *Quarterly* for January, 1867, in speaking of the "seven deacons" in the Book of Acts, says, "They are never so called in the book itself;" and Dean Alford says, "The title of deacons is nowhere applied to these seven in Scripture, nor does the word occur in Acts at all" (*in loco*).

Wesley says: "Their proper office was to take care of the poor; and when some of them afterward preached the Gospel they did it not by virtue of their deaconship, but by *another commission*—that of evangelists, which they probably received, but after they were appointed deacons;" and adds, "It is not unlikely that others were chosen deacons or stewards in their room" (*in loco*). "*Another commission!*" Wesley regarded these seven *stewards* as divinely "commissioned" to the department of temporalities in the Church of God. What else could be the meaning of this solemn ordination served by apostolic hands, the first recorded in the New Testament? "The powers that be are ordained of God." The powers of the people and of the magis-

trate in the State are ordained of God. So in the organism of the Church. "The *powers*" of the "official laity, and 'the *powers*' of the ministry of the word 'are ordained of God.'"

Allow me to pause just here a moment to ascertain the origin and significance of this ordination service. "And when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them"—a form that was not only used by the apostles in the appointment of these official laymen to the responsible charge of the temporal interests in the Church, but also in the appointment of the ministers of the word to the spiritual oversight of the Church. It also was ordered or ordained of God. It was not from "the provincial customs of the Jews;" it was "instituted long before the Jews reached their provinces;" not from "the ceremonials of the synagogue;" it was before the synagogue was. It was "*commanded*" on the day that Moses, knowing that he was soon to go hence, besought: Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation, who may go in and out before them, and who may lead them out and bring them in, that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd. And the Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him; and set him before Eleazar, the priest, and before all the congregation; and give him a *charge* in their sight. And thou shalt put some of thine honor (literally, *authority*) upon him, that all the congregation may be obedient. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him (Joshua) after the judg-

ment of Urim before the Lord. At *his* word (the word of the Lord revealed through the priest) shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in, both he (Joshua) and all the children of Israel, even all the congregation. And Moses did as the Lord *commanded* him. And he took Joshua and set him before the congregation, and he laid his hands upon him, as the Lord commanded by the hands of Moses. Num. xxvii, 16-23.

Here we have, cleaving like a bolt of lightning the clouds and fog-banks of modern "exposition," the sharp, clear, and incisive statement of the *divine* origin and God-given significance of this most impressive ordination service—the conveyance of authority derived from God, by the scriptural rulers of the Church, to their successors through the laying on of hands and the concurrence of the whole congregation. As Moses, himself directly called of God, ordained his successor by divine command, conveyed to him the authority he himself had derived immediately from God, so the "twelve," *directly* commissioned by the great Head of the Church to bind or loose on earth and in heaven, conveyed through this divinely instituted ceremonial, to their successors in the *specific offices* which God had set by them in the Church, the *authority* which they had *immediately* derived from Christ.

The *authority* in the *temporalities* of the Church the divinely inspired apostles conveyed in this most solemn, impressive, and divinely authorized ceremonial to the seven official laymen, laymen elected by "the multitude of the disciples," and set apart from the ministers of the word by apostolic hands as a *distinct* and *separate*

bureau or department of finance and temporalities in the Church of God.

And, sir, as these inspired men declare that this distinction and separation of temporalities from the ministrations of the word are grounded on the principles of "*reason*"—of absolute and eternal reason—we can but regard their authoritative charge as obligatory upon the chosen representatives of the laity so long as there are in the Church of God secular interests demanding attention, in distinction from those spiritual concerns especially committed to the ministry of the word. And, so long as these secular interests remain in the organism, just so long will the *authority of the word* and of external reason "order" that laymen shall take responsible charge of the ministrations of finance in every society, in every Annual Conference, in every General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in every society and every assembly of every Church on the planet under the authority of Christ.

That the ministry of the word was set apart by divine authority, through this divinely instituted form, to the distinct and separate work of teaching and governing in the Church, no critical scholar of the New Testament could ever successfully deny.

"The Holy Ghost said, *Separate* me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands upon them, they sent them away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed," not upon an apostolic, but an episcopal tour, "preaching the Word"—

“confirming the souls of the disciples,” and “ordaining (*cheirotomia*) them elders in every Church.” Acts xiv, 22, 23.

As to the form of this ordination, Clarke says: “I believe the simple truth to be this, that in ancient times *the people chose by the cheirotomia* (lifting up of hands) their spiritual pastor; and the *rulers* of the Church, whether apostles or others, appointed that person to his office by the *cheirothesia*, or imposition of hands” (*in loco*).

Allow us now to inquire as to the nature and extent of this authority thus conveyed to pastors *elected by the people to an office ordained of God*. Is it simply executive? What is commanded in God’s word?

1. That the pastoral ministry, known indiscriminately as pastors, teachers, bishops, or presbyters, etc., shall take the general oversight of the whole Church, which oversight is to extend to temporalities only so far as relates to the “appointment” of devout and competent laymen, elected by the Church to take *responsible* charge of that “business,” while they themselves are to give themselves to prayer and to things pertaining to the “ministry of the word.”

Peter, to whom “the keys of doctrine and discipline” were especially given, writes: “The elders which are among you I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ. Feed the flock of God which is among you, . . . taking the oversight thereof.” 1 Pet. v, 1, 2.

The word rendered “feed,” and afterward explained as “taking the oversight,” is *ποιμανατε* (*poimamate*) a

form of the verb ποιμαίνω (*poimaino*), the same term employed by the Saviour in his address to Peter and the apostles when he said in most positive commandment, "Feed (ποιμαίνε, *poimaine*) my sheep." John xxi, 16. What is the signification of the term? Does it mean that a pastor, a shepherd, is simply the executive officer of his flock, their *creature*, to do their bidding? Its use in the sacred Scriptures themselves shall determine this for us. It occurs eleven times in the New Testament, but only once with its literal meaning, "a servant feeding cattle." Five times it signifies the *rule of Christ* in the world, in such texts as, "Out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule (ποιμανεῖ, *poimanei*) my people Israel" (Matt. ii, 6); "He shall rule (ποιμανεῖ, *poimanei*) them" (all nations), etc. Rev. xix, 15. Four times it is applied to the pastoral office, in such texts as Christ's charge to Peter, "Feed (ποιμαίνε, *poimaine*) my sheep;" and in Peter's charge to the elders, "Feed (ποιμανατε, *poimanate*) the flock of God, . . . taking the oversight thereof;" and Paul's charge to the elders at Miletus, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed (ποιμαίνειν, *poimainein*) the Church of God," etc. Acts xx, 28. Simply an "executive officer" of the flock of Christ! As reasonably say that the ἀρχιποιμενος (*archipoimenos*), or "chief Shepherd," "head over all things to the Church," was simply the "chief executive." In Heb. xiii, 20, he is called "the great Shepherd (ποίμενα, *poimena*) of the sheep." In 1 Pet. ii, 25, "The Shepherd (ποίμενα, *poimena*) and

Bishop of your souls." And yet this is the identical term employed by the Scriptures in relation to pastors. "And he gave some pastors (ποιμένας, *poimenas*) and teachers." Who can prove that these ποιμενες (*poimenes*) were not the "masters of assemblies given from one shepherd" (ποιμένα, *poimena*)? Eccl. xii, 11.

Again, look at the term προιστημι (*proistami*), to go before, to direct, to rule, to govern. It is applied in several instances to parental or family government. "A bishop must be blameless, . . . one that ruleth (προϊστάμενον, *proistamenon*) well his own house, having his children in subjection *under him*; for if a man know not how to rule (προστηναί, *prostanai*) his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" 1 Tim. iii, 2, 4, 5. And again, of the deacons, in verse 12, "Ruling (προϊσταμενοι, *proistamenoi*) their children and their own houses well." Does parental government imply *executive* power alone? And yet this term, προιστημι (*proistami*), is precisely the one selected by the Holy Ghost to set forth the rule of the πρεσβυτεροι (*presbuteroi*): "Know them which labor among you and are over you (προϊσταμενους, *proistamenous*) in the Lord." 1 Thess. v, 12. "Let the elders that rule (προεστωτες, *proestotes*) well be counted worthy of double honor, especially (μάλιστα, *malista*, *most of all*) they who labor (κοπιῶντες, *kopiontes*) from κοπιᾶω (*kopiao*), to be tired, to grow weary, to *work hard*, to *toil* in word and doctrine."* 1 Tim. v, 17. "He that

* Dr. Strong, in his invaluable Encyclopædia (art. "Elder"), says: "For a luminous statement of the whole subject of *lay eldership*, with a *conclusive proof* that there is no trace of it in the New Testament,

ruleth (*προϊσταμενος*, *proïstamenos*) with diligence." Rom. xii, 8. In the presenee of such scriptural definitions of the term, what warrant has any man for saying that this "ruling" (*προϊσταμενοι*, *proïstamenoi*) involves simply the executive function, excluding the making of "needful rules and regulations" for the government of the Church of God? The term *agoumenoi* is also suggestive.

2. Obedience on the part of the laity of the Church is commanded to these pastoral rulers (*ηγουμενοι*, *agoumenoi*) in the name of God. What are they? Simply the exeecutive, to do the will of the people? Then the command should have reversed the terms, so as to read, "Pastors, obey your people in all things, for majorities are to you in place of the word." "Pastors, obey them that have the rule over you," for they are the source of authority, the origin of power in the Church of God. Scarcely good Scripture, however flattering to demoeratic pride. What are the *ηγουμενοι* (*agoumenoi*) of Scripture? "Out of thee shall come a Governor (*ηγουμενος*, *agoumenos*), that shall rule my pople Israel." Matt. ii, 6. "He made him governor (*ηγουμενον*, *agoumenon*) over Egypt and all his house." Acts vii, 10. Simply an exeecutive? "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art: thou shalt be over my house, and *according unto thy word* (the legislative) shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne (power) will I be

see Dr. Hitchcock's art., *Presbyterian Review*, 1868." See, also, Dexter on Congregationalism, pp. 110-120.

greater than thou. . . . Without thee shall no man lift up hand or foot in all the land of Egypt." Gen. xli, 39, 40, 44.

Now, when applied to pastors, who has the scriptural warrant to say that the term is restricted solely to executive functions in carrying out the will of majorities? "Remember them which have the rule over you (*ηγουμενων, agoumenon*), who have spoken unto you the word of God." Heb. xiii, 7. "Obey them that have the rule over you (*ηγουμενοις, agoumenois*), and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as *they that must give account*." Verse 17. "His blood *will I require at the watchman's hand*. So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel." Ezek. xxxiii, 6, 7. "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel. . . . O ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord. . . . Behold, I am against the shepherds; and *I will require my flock at their hand*." Ezek. xxxiv, 2, 9, 10.

Is it possible that God could call men to stand so close to a woe of failure that darkens an eternity, and at the same time allow a majority of the flock for which he is held responsible to overrule his *conscience* and judgment as to the best ways and means for securing their spiritual and eternal well-being? Is it possible that the laity of any Church should be so frenzied, so intoxicated with the love of power, so heartless, as to send a man up to a position of *such responsibilities*—a position around which the heaviest storm-clouds of the divine fury are shaken out, and yet so bind him with the withes of majorities that he should not be free

to meet these responsibilities? As surely as there is a divine call to the Christian ministry to take *responsible charge* of the flock of Christ, so certainly do reason, conscience, and the word of God agree in laying upon that ministry especial responsibility in shaping the legislation of the Church in relation to those interests for which pastors must especially answer, on pain of eternal death.

As a bar to this scriptural logic, it is asserted that the precedent of the first council is directly against it; that the laity sat and deliberated with the apostles and elders without distinction or demarkation of powers; enacting and signing the first ecclesiastical decrees touching the doctrines and moral discipline of the Church as one body. It is claimed that "the laity, as the *underwriters* of these decrees, were in the bond."

As that first council of the Church was summoned and presided over by the inspired apostles and as a precedent must be binding *in every principle* illustrated by it upon all in the same circumstances for all time, the objection is entitled to the most candid and careful consideration. The accepted version,* we are sorry to say, makes a point against us; sorry not only because it contradicts the context, but because it has darkened a very clear case and led some of the very best

* The Revised Version, which was not issued when Dr. Perrine delivered this speech, reads as follows: "And they wrote *thus* by them, The apostles and the elder brethren unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting," etc. Acts xv, 23.—EDITOR.

of men astray. An examination of the original Greek text, however, will correct all misapprehensions and lead us to the mind of the Spirit, to the authoritative word.

In our version Acts xv, 23, reads as follows: "And they wrote letters by them after this manner; The apostles (οἱ ἀπόστολοι, *hoi apostoloi*) and elders (καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, *kai hoi presbuteroi*) and brethren (καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ, *kai hoi adelphoi*) send greeting," etc.

But Griesbach marks this last καὶ οἱ in his critique upon the text as "doubtful." Lachman throws it out altogether. Irenæus, in quoting the text in the second century, omits it, making brethren, of course, in apposition with πρεσβύτεροι (*presbuteroi*), or elders. Dean Alford, in his great work on the Greek Testament, in three volumes, says: "The received version inserts καὶ οἱ (*kai hoi*) before ἀδελφοὶ (*adelphoi*); with the Codex Basiliensis of the eighth century, Codex Wolfir of the ninth century, Codex Regis Parisiensis of the eighth century; also in the latest so-called corrections of the Sinaiticus, as Tischendorf says, some centuries later than the original scribe." . . . But the καὶ οἱ (*kai hoi*) is omitted by the Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century, Codex Vaticanus of the fourth century, Codex Ephæmi, "the purest example of the Alexandrine text," of the fifth century, Codex Bezae of the fifth or sixth century, and Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century.

Tischendorf, in his English Testament, says in a footnote: "The Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine MSS. omit "and" (καὶ οἱ) before "brethren." And to indi-

cate the value of these three MSS. says: "*These three MSS. undoubtedly stand at the head of all the ancient copies of the New Testament, and it is by their standard that both the early editions of the Greek text and modern versions are to be compared and corrected.*" So Alford, in his English Testament, correctly and appropriately gives the exact and literal rendering as follows: "And they wrote letters by them after this manner, The apostles and *brethren* WHICH ARE ELDERS send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia." Alford also says in his notes to the Greek text: "The omission of *καὶ οἱ* before *ἀδελφοί*, (*adelphoi*), as in all the first MSS., as Neander observes, can hardly have been occasioned by hierarchical considerations, seeing it occurs as early as Irenæus, and that it would be equally strong against hierarchical views to call the presbyters *adelphoi*, or brethren." We like that. We believe that the presbyters are of the people, and with the people, and for the people, but with their special responsibilities. Now glance through the whole narrative and note how perfectly this original text harmonizes with the context throughout.

1. To whom was this appeal from Antioch made? Verse 2 answers, "Unto the apostles and elders" at Jerusalem.

2. Who came together to hear the appeal? Verse 6 says: "And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter."

3. Who ordained the decrees? Verse 4 of the next chapter answers: "And as they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees for to keep that were

ordained of the *apostles and elders* which were at Jerusalem."

Who signed the decrees? The first exegetical scholars and annotators of the age answer: "The apostles and *brethren which are elders.*"

Now, sir, although the laity in great numbers may have filled every gallery and corridor of that council chamber, as they do here, with deeply interested listeners, and although some of "the sect of the Pharisees that believed" appeared before the council to urge, as accusers or appellants, their Jewish prejudices, yet, sir, it is in clearest evidence that during the entire time occupied in the disension, enactment, and signing of these decrees, the laity were in reality *without the bar* of the clerical body, practically a distinct and separate house.

But, sir, no sooner has the clerical house, or body of men upon whom the Holy Ghost had laid this *especial responsibility*, taken action, determining in the field of doctrine and moral discipline what ought to be done, than we find the laity, at least by implication, not only concurring with the legislative action of the clerical body by providing the necessary "ways and means," but we find them heartily uniting with the apostles and elders in carrying the decrees into effect. "Then pleased it the apostles and elders *with* the whole Church to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch." Verse 22. A purely administrative act, implying, of course, the concurrence of all the constitutional elements, the distinctive, yet harmonious members of "the one body" of Christ.

Thus, sir, in this brief study of the first great council of the Church, convened by inspired authority, we find at least the *typical germs* of that legislative science which, growing up in the unfolding wisdom of the ages, stands at length in the two perfectly distinct, separate, and concurrent houses of the modern legislature, not only as a monument of the world's experience—that experience which corrects the errors of mere theory, and at once illustrates and enforces the eternal judgments of nature, but, sir, a monument as well to the wisdom of Him whom we most devoutly believe to be worthy to be “head over all things to the Church,” *even in Church government.*

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The foregoing speech by Dr. Perrine produced a profound impression upon the minds of its readers. Many leading members of the General Conference gave it careful attention, and were convinced that it outlined the safest policy for the Church to pursue. Bishop Ames said to Drs. G. B. Joeelyn and D. F. Barnes: “Perrine has done the best thing of the General Conference so far. His theory of the constitution is historically and philosophically correct.” Judge G. G. Reynolds said: “I have just finished reading your speech; it is magnificent, and I think I can say I indorse every position in it.” Dr. J. M. Buckley said: “Perrine, I have read every word; I believe every word of it; you have the facts and principles.” General Clinton B. Fisk, in a note dated Baltimore, May 27, 1876, said: “I wish to thank you again for your able defense of the liberties of the Church.” G. J. Ferry, chairman of the Committee on Lay Delegation, said: “Perrine, you are right; you are going to succeed; the best men in the Church are with you.” Another delegate said: “That speech will shape the Church of the future.” One of the bishops declared, “It is much easier to speak slightly of Perrine

than to answer him." A distinguished General Conference officer affirmed that "Perrine stock is coming up; all over the country the first men in the Church are with him." The late Dr. E. Wentworth gave this encouraging word: "You are making progress. It took Wilberforce thirty years to convert the British Parliament." A great many other opinions of like import could be quoted. The *Methodist* of May 13, 1876, observed: "On the first day of the session Dr. W. H. Perrine, of Michigan, obtained the ear of the General Conference for his resolution to divide that body into two houses. The main line of argument in his speech is that such division is a necessary safeguard of liberty. In print, in the *Daily Advocate*, his speech is *bright, witty, and strong*. His quotations from the writers of the Church setting up the doctrine of supreme and practically unlimited powers in the General Conference were well taken, and his allusion to 'this bridge of fog over which the whole lay representation movement passed,' makes a striking conclusion to the quotations." The *Michigan Christian Advocate*, after expressing regret for inability to publish the speech entire, said: "It was an able argument upon the necessity of guarding constitutional rights against the aggressions of legislative assumption, an object which he sought to accomplish by the division of the General Conference into two branches, lay and clerical." Rev. F. M. Searles, of Ohio, writing to a member of the Michigan Conference in 1879, said: "Dr. Perrine's speech at the last General Conference impressed me deeply. I hope his views may prevail, and that he may have the opportunity of being heard again at the next General Conference." Rev. George B. Fairhead, of New York, also wrote: "I have just finished a perusal of Dr. Perrine's arguments on the two houses. His arguments are solid rock of the granite order. He has made a masterly presentation of the question of Church government, such as I have never before seen equaled. His arguments compel deliberation, and force on the judgment the conviction that he is unanswerable." A leading thinker and speaker in several General Conferences expressed himself as follows: "I esteem Dr. Perrine highly, and believe him to be a man of great ability and unusual acquirements. On the fundamental importance of the two-house idea I entirely agree with him, and believe the Church

will some day see the wisdom of it. . . . My opinion is that at the end of the last General Conference he was generally conceded to be an able and learned man whose words were weighty. I think him a man to be adhered to, and if I were a member of your Conference I should vote for him for the third term." It is scarcely necessary to add that the "third term" was given to him by the suffrages of a majority of his brethren.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL CONFERENCE RE-ORGANIZATION.

Comparative Tables.

ONE OR TWO HOUSES.

FACT is of more value than fiction. Faithfulness is better than flattery, and self-knowledge than self-complacency. A great Church, like a great soul, can afford to be severe only with itself. "We began," says John Wesley, "by denouncing ourselves." It can afford to be more than inflexibly just; it may be chivalrously generous in its relations to others. It cannot afford to be slow to acknowledge merit or to emulate excellence wherever found. Believing that the Methodist Episcopal Church has no interest incompatible with the fullest exhibit of facts in the broad field of comparative ecclesiasticism, and especially that no intelligent lover of our Zion could consent that in any department of church interest *perfection of methods* should long be found only outside of "Methodism," we have ventured upon a comparison, not altogether in our favor, between the two legislative systems of the two leading episcopalian Churches in America—between the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

That the relative merits of the One and the Two House Systems may be the more clearly seen and forcibly felt, we shall arrange their respective facts in parallel columns side by side.

EXHIBIT No. 1.

NAME, PLACE, DATE, AND LENGTH OF SESSION.

THE QUADRENNIAL SESSION

OF THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

Methodist Episcopal Church,

HELD IN

BALTIMORE, Md.,

From May 1 to May 31, 1876.

(Exclusive of Sundays)

27 DAYS.

THE TRIENNIAL SESSION

OF THE

GENERAL CONVENTION

OF THE

Protestant Episcopal Church,

HELD IN

BOSTON, Mass.,

From Oct. 3 to Oct. 25, 1877.

(Exclusive of Sundays.)

20 DAYS.

EXHIBIT No. 2.

CONSTITUTION AND SIZE.

The General Conference

is composed of a Single House, in which Ministerial and Lay Delegates sit and deliberate together as one body and vote together or separately according to the option of either order.

Ministerial Delegates..... 222

Lay Delegates..... 133

Total..... 355

The General Convention

is composed of Two Distinct, Separate, and Concurrent Houses: a House of Bishops, deliberating and voting by itself, and a House of Deputies, in which Clerical and Lay Deputies sit and deliberate together and vote together or separately according to the option of either order.

Clerical Deputies..... 192

Lay Deputies..... 188

Bishops..... 60

Total..... 440

EXHIBIT No. 3.

FIRST APPROXIMATE TEST OF THE AMOUNT OF WORK DONE IN EACH HOUSE RESPECTIVELY.

The Proceedings of the General Conference, as published in the columns of the

Daily Christian Advocate,

exclusive of Fraternal Addresses:

271,418 WORDS.

The Proceedings of the House of Deputies, as published in the columns of the

Daily Churchman,

exclusive of Fraternal Addresses:

500,395 WORDS.

The sessions of the House of Bishops are SECRET. That they were not idle, however, will appear from the following:

EXHIBIT No. 4.

NOTE.—In the table below, the phrase “to act” is distinguished from that of “to enact” as scaffolding is from an edifice in building. “To act” relates exclusively to the *temporary* agencies, methods, interests, or convenience of the acting body itself, such as the admission of members to seats, granting leave of absence, the appointment or instruction of committees, votes of thanks,

etc.; while, on the other hand, "to enact" relates exclusively to *permanent* legislation for the whole Church.

FURTHER APPROXIMATE TESTS OF THE AMOUNT OF WORK DONE,

AND

An Analysis of the Doings of Each House according to the Official Journals and Dailies respectively.

	GENERAL CONFERENCE.		GENERAL CONVENTION.	
	One House.		House of Deputies.	House of Bishops.
	27 days.	20 days.	20 days.	20 days.
TO ACT:				
Motions <i>to act temporarily</i> for the acting body itself.	375	278	93	74
Resolutions " " adopted.	58	43	28	33
Reports <i>to act</i> from standing committees adopted.	12	9	13	3
" " special	19	14	9	5
Whole No. of forms "to act" for the body acting adopt'd	464	344	143	115
TO ENACT:				
Motions <i>to enact permanently</i> for the good of the whole Church.	182	135	173	182
Resolutions <i>to enact permanently</i> for the good of the whole Church adopted.	106	78	117	108
Reports <i>to enact</i> from standing committees adopted.	36	27	43	47
" " special	25	18	11	19
" adverse to enactment from stand'g com. adopt'd.	4	3	21	17
" " special	1	1	2	2
Whole No. forms "to enact" for the whole Church	354	262	367	375
INCIDENTAL AND PRIVILEGED:				
Motions to make special order.	10	7	36	22
" " suspend the rules.	46	34	8	3
" " approve the minutes.	2	1	...	20
" " adjourn	28	21	20	17
SUPPLEMENTARY:				
Motions to lie on the table.	115	85	58	15
" " put the previous question	29	21	...	...
" " postpone to a certain day.	11	8	12	13
" " commit or "refer".	25	18	155	85
" " amend	196	145	74	37
" " postpone indefinitely.	10	7	7	3
MISCELLANEOUS:				
Motions to take up from the table.	39	29	39	34
" " reconsider	12	9	2	5
" " recommit.	2	1	5	6
SPECIAL:				
Motions to concur.	...	...	27	38
" " non-concur.	...	...	4	14
Messages sent.	...	...	97	96
" received.	...	...	16	97
REPORTS, MEMORIALS, ETC.:				
Memorials "referred" by motion or "under the rules"	560	419	41	39
Resolutions " " " " " "	338	250	92	37
Reports "referred" to other committees	2	1	10	12
Whole No. of reports received from committees.	145	105	177	120
" " " acted upon or accepted as final.	97	72	157	120
" " " from standing committees not acted upon or suppressed.	47	33	...	...

EXHIBIT No. 5.

RESPECTIVE METHODS OF HANDLING REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

GENERAL CONFERENCE.					
HOUSE OF DEPUTIES.					
HOUSE OF BISHOPS.					
Days of Month.	Days of Session.	Reports Introduced.	Laid over to be Printed.	Reports Discussed.	Reports made Special Order.
Final Action on Reports.	Character of.	Reports Smoothed.	Days of Month.	Days of Session.	Reports Introduced.
Reports put on Calendar.	Reports Discussed.	Reports made Special Order.	Final Action on Reports.	Character of.	Repts. Smooth'd.
Reports Introduced.	Reports Laid on Table.	Reports Discussed.	Reports made Special Order.	Final Action on Reports.	Character of.
Repts. Smooth'd.					
TUESDAY, MAY 2.					
2.					
On the second day the standing committees were "severally nominated and elected."					
THURSDAY, OCT. 4.					
2.					
On the morning of the second day the president announced the standing committees, as follows: State of Church (S.C.). Consecration of Bishops (C.B.). On Canons (C.). Theological Seminary (T.S.). On Expenses (Ex.). Unfinished Business (U.B.). New Dioceses (N.D.). Amendment of Constitution (A.C.). Memorials of Deceased Members (Mc.). Christian Education (C.Ed.). Domestic and Foreign Missions (D.F.M.). Prayer Book (P.B.). Elections (El.).					
On the morning of the second day the presiding bishop announced the standing committees, as follows: New Dioceses (N.D.). Prayer Book (P.B.). Consecration of Bishops (C.B.). Memorials (Mc.). Theological Seminary (T.S.). Amendment of Constitution (A.C.). On Canons (C.). Unfinished Business (U.B.). Dispatch of Business (D.B.). Christian Education (C.Ed.). Domestic Missions (D.M.). Foreign Missions (F.M.).					
MONDAY, MAY 1.					
1.					
Organized by calling roll of delegates and electing a secretary. On the first day of the Session the standing committees were "ordered."					
WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3.					
1.					
Organized by calling roll of deputies and electing president and secretary.					
Organized by calling roll of bishops and electing a secretary.					

[illegible]

RESPECTIVE METHODS OF HANDLING REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.—*Continued*

WED., MAY 10.		TUES., MAY 9.		MON., MAY 8.		GENERAL CONFERENCE.	
9.		8.		7.		Days of Month.	
						Days of Session.	
						Reports Intro- duced.	
						Laid over to be Printed.	
						Reports Dis- cussed.	
						Reports made Special Order.	
						Final Action on Reports.	
						Character of.	
						Reports Smoth- ered.	
FRI., OCT. 12.		THUR., OCT. 11.		WED., OCT. 10.		Days of Month.	
9.		8.		7.		Days of Session.	
						Reports Intro- duced.	
C.9		C.7 C.8		N.D.2 C.6 El.8		Reports put on Calendar.	
C.9		C.7 C.8		N.D.2 C.6 A.C.1		Reports Dis- cussed.	
A.C.3+		N.D.3		N.D.2 C.6 A.C.1		Reports made Special Order.	
A.C.2		N.D.3		N.D.2 C.6 El.8		Final Action on Reports.	
		N.D.3		A.C.1+		Character of.	
		N.D.3		E.		Repts. Smoth'd.	
		N.D.3		C.9		Reports Intro- duced.	
		N.D.3		C.10		Reports Laid on Table.	
		N.D.3		C.10		Reports Dis- cussed.	
		N.D.3		C.10		Reports made Special Order.	
		N.D.3		C.10		Final Action on Reports.	
		N.D.3		C.10		Character of.	
		N.D.3		C.10		Repts. Smoth'd.	

MONDAY, MAY 15.				SATURDAY, MAY 13.				FRIDAY, MAY 12.				TH., MAY 11.			
13.				12.				11.				10.			
C Ed. 1	M. 1	L. O.	C. E. 1	B. C. 1	B. C. 2	B. C. 3									
	M. 2	L. O.	C. E. 1	B. C. 1	B. C. 2	B. C. 3									
			C. E. 1	B. C. 1	B. C. 2	B. C. 3									
			C. E. 1	B. C. 1	B. C. 2	B. C. 3									
			E.	B. C. 1	B. C. 2	B. C. 3									
				A. D.	E.	R.									
WED., OCT. 17.				TUESDAY, OCT. 16.				MONDAY, OCT. 15				SAT., OCT. 13.			
13.				12.				11.				10.			
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10
C Ed. 1	T. S. 1	P. B. 4	C. 19	C. 17	C. 18	C. 19	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10	C. 10				

RESPECTIVE METHODS OF HANDLING REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.—Continued.

THURSDAY, MAY 18. WED., MAY 17.				TUESDAY, MAY 16.				Days of Month.		Days of Session.			
16.				15.				14.				Reports Intro-	
M. 3, 4, 5, 6 L.O. Ed. 1, 2 L.O. R. 1, 2, 3 L.O. R. 4, 5, 6, 7 L.O. S. C. 1 L.O. B. C. 4, 7 L.O. B. C. 6 L.O. Ed. 3 L.O. Ep. 1, 2 L.O.				M. 1				B. C. 3 B. C. 5 B. C. 5 E.				duced.	
B. C. 682				M. 1				B. C. 5				Laid over to be Printed.	
B. C. 682 Rec.				E.				E.				Reports Dis-	
Ed. 2				Ed. 2				Ed. 2				cussed.	
R. 1				R. 1				R. 1				Reports made	
R. 2				R. 2				R. 2				Special Order.	
R. 3				R. 3				R. 3				Final Action on	
R. 4				R. 4				R. 4				Reports,	
R. 5				R. 5				R. 5				Character of.	
R. 6				R. 6				R. 6				Reports Smoth-	
Ep. 1				Ep. 1				Ep. 1				ered.	
SATURDAY, OCT. 20.				FRI., OCT. 19.				THURSDAY, OCT. 18.				Days of Month.	
16.				15.				14.				Days of Session.	
T. S. 2 P. B. 6 C. 25 C. 26				D. F. M. 1				E. 7 A. C. 12 A. C. 13 C. 20				Reports Intro-	
C. 26				D. F. M. 1				A. C. 12 A. C. 13 C. 20				duced.	
C. 11				C. 9				P. B. 1 C. 5 C. 8 C. 21 C. 21 C. 20 P. B. 3 C. 22				Reports put on	
C. 19				C. 11				C. 24				Calendar.	
C. 14				C. 11				C. 24				Reports Dis-	
A. C. 6				D. F. M. 1				C. 24				cussed.	
A. C. 6				D. F. M. 1				C. 24				Reports made	
A. D.				C. 9				C. 24				Special Order.	
A. D.				C. 9				C. 24				Final Action on	
A. D.				E.				E.				Reports,	
A. C. 4				D. M. 5				C. 28				Character of.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 6				Repts. Smoth'd.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Reports Intro-	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				duced.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Reports Laid on	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Table.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Reports Dis-	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				cussed.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Reports made	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Special Order.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Final Action on	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Reports,	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Character of.	
A. C. 4				T. S. 2				P. B. 3 P. B. 4 P. B. 5				Repts. Smoth'd.	

[illegible]

RESPECTIVE METHODS OF HANDLING REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.—*Continued.*

GENERAL CONFERENCE.

FRI., MAY 26.	THUR., MAY 25.	WED., MAY 24.	Days of Month.	
23.	22.	21.	Days of Session.	
.....	S. S. T. 7 Ed. 8 M. 13	.....	Reports Intro- duced.	
.....	B. C. H R. 12, 13, 14 L. O.	.....	Laid over to be Printed.	
.....	S. S. T. 7 L. O.	.....	Reports Dis- cussed.	
.....	.....	.....	Reports made Special Order.	
.....	.....	.....	Final Action on Reports.	
.....	.....	.....	Character of.	
.....	.....	.....	Reports Smoth- ered.	

EXPLANATION AND SUMMARY OF EXHIBIT No. 5.				
Abbreviations of Final Actions.		General Conference.	House of Deputies.	House of Bishops.
E.....	Reports enacted.....	36	43	47
A. D.....	{Reports adverse to action adopted and committee discharged.....}	4	21	18
Ac.....	Reports accepted as final.....	12	12	2
L.....	Reports lost or defeated.....	2	1	..
Rec.....	Reports reconsidered.....	1	..	1
Rec'm.....	Reports recommitted.....	..	1	1
R.....	{Reports referred to other committees, agents, etc.....}	2	5	6
N. C.....	{Reports referred to the next Conference or Convention.....}	..	6	2
L. T.....	Reports laid on the table.....	1	2	1
I. P.....	Reports indefinitely postponed.....	1	1	1
W.....	{Whole number of reports submitted for action.....}	95	92	78
W.....	Whole number of reports acted upon.....	47 13 + 1 Rec.	92	78 + 1 Rec.
W.....	Whole number of reports suppressed.....	47 2-3 !!!	..	....

SEPARATE BALLOTING IN THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES BY DIOCESES AND ORDERS

No. of Bal- lot.		Orders.		No. of Dio- ceses Rep- resented.		Ayes.		Nays.		Divided.	
1.	{ Clerical { Lay	45	24	17	4	2	17	4	2	17	4
2.	{ Clerical { Lay	42	23	13	5	5	27	5	5	27	5
3.	{ Clerical { Lay	45	13	24	5	5	9	5	5	9	5
4.	{ Clerical { Lay	39	23	12	4	4	31	4	4	31	4
5.	{ Clerical { Lay	45	10	31	4	4	10	6	6	10	6
6.	{ Clerical { Lay	44	10	25	6	6	6	12	12	6	12
7.	{ Clerical { Lay	44	10	22	12	12	30	4	4	30	4
8.	{ Clerical { Lay	40	6	30	1	1	43	1	1	43	1
9.	{ Clerical { Lay	39	39	..	..	..	39	..	..	39	..
10.	{ Clerical { Lay	42	42	..	..	..	42	..	..	42	..
11.	{ Clerical { Lay	32	30	2	..	..	30	2	2	30	2
12.	{ Clerical { Lay	42	42	..	..	..	42	..	..	42	..
13.	{ Clerical { Lay	42	42	..	..	..	42	..	..	42	..
14.	{ Clerical { Lay	42	42	..	..	..	42	..	..	42	..
15.	{ Clerical { Lay	42	42	..	..	..	42	..	..	42	..
Sitting together, listening to the same arguments, a majority of the laity al- ways votes with a majority of the clergy.											

CHAPTER XIX.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING TABLES.

“ALL comparisons are odious,” at least to one of the parties, yet I cannot refrain from comments on the significant facts presented in the foregoing exhibits of work accomplished in the General Conference of 1876 as compared with the General Convention of 1877. Nothing could afford me more pleasure than to be able to do a disagreeable thing agreeably—to state an infelicitous thing felicitously—but I cannot. I might as well attempt to touch off a columbiad lightly. It cannot be done. This comparison is not in our favor.

I find some relief, however, as I recollect the characteristic words of John Wesley: “Most reformers begin by denouncing others; we began by denouncing ourselves.” A grander utterance never fell from the lips of man.

1. Let us look at the comparative thoroughness with which the work of formulation was wrought in the standing committees respectively. It is worth while to remark that the General Convention was composed of about the same proportions of ministerial and lay members as our own General Conference, and by a strange coincidence handled the same number of reports.

The number of subsidiary motions, especially of

amendments that were made by each house respectively in their further elaboration, will indicate the comparative thoroughness of formulation in the two bodies with a good degree of certainty, for, says Sir Charles Wagner, "When a bill is *hastily brought in* it generally requires mature deliberation and *many amendments in its progress through the house*, which always takes a great deal of time. Whereas, when it is maturely considered and fully concerted before it is brought in, the first draft of the bill is generally so perfect that *it requires but few amendments*, and the rapidity of its progress always bears proportion to the maturity of its first concoction."*

Now, as to the measures brought before the General Conference and the General Convention respectively, we have in Exhibit No. 4 the following: "Motions to amend—General Conference 196; General Convention 74," giving, according to the authority just quoted, strong evidence *not in our favor*. As the discussions recorded in the dailies show that most of these amendments were introduced during the discussion of the forty-eight reports of the standing committees acted on, it implies that some of the conditions of formulation by committees had been but poorly regarded. That the talent in the committees of the Conference was inferior to that of the committees of the General Convention we could not, of course, for an instant allow; but this, we think, the reading of both journals will indicate with the clearness of a sunbeam—that the great difference in results is to be found in the fact

* *Con. Deb.*, xi, 116, 117.

that the method of appointment in the one is more likely to *adapt special talent to special services* than in the other. The president of the General Convention, who from long service in it has knowledge of the *capacities* of different men for different departments of service, is enabled to put *the right man in the right place*. If a chairman of any one of the committees demonstrates especial talent for drafting reports in canonical form, and for conducting them on their passage through the house, he is made chairman of the Committee on Canons or Amendments to the Constitution *and kept there*. The first report of the Committee on Canons, introduced on the morning of the fourth day in the General Convention, and marked "C. 1" (in Exhibit No. 5), mentions the fact that the retiring chairman, Rev. W. C. Mead, D.D., had been a member of the House for forty-two years, a member of the Committee on Canons thirty years, and its chairman for twenty-four years, or eight consecutive sessions. He was probably an expert; and the presidents of the Convention knew it, and were sensible enough to set him at the work for which he was especially fitted, in which he could best serve the Church. Does any man believe that, if the General Convention returned only one fifth of all its previous members, and if the chairmanship was an *elective office*, a place of honor to be sought after, comparative strangers to such would return the same man, no matter what his special qualifications or the needs of the Church might be, to the same place for eight consecutive terms? It is needless to say that the chances would be fearfully against him. The "Rotation Rapier," wielded skillfully

by some aspirant for the honors of the place, would make very quick work with him.

Does this language shock you? Would to God that it were only a painting of the imagination! Do you say "impossible?" Look at this in a paper entitled *The Methodist*, dated New York, April 24, 1880, on the first page; on the *outside*; it was intended to be seen!! It was not on Christian Perfection, not on the Higher Life, not on "In honor preferring one another," not a prayer saying, "Lord, thou knowest the hearts of all men: show whether of these two THOU hast chosen that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship from which Judas by his transgression fell that he might go to his own place." No, but it is after the style of a whooping savage with dripping scalp and butcher knife uplifted. "As the General Conference draws near it becomes apparent that Dr. A. will be returned to his present position unless he is made Bishop or Missionary Secretary. Dr. B. *has been beaten, probably, so badly*—" "Has been beaten!" When? Where? How?—"has been beaten, probably, so badly that he will not have more than twenty-six of the eighty-five votes of the patronizing conferences. At the same time we may conjecture that Dr. B.'s public services are ending." *Whose enemy hath done this?*

Now, it is evident from this extract, and others we might give from the same issue, that somebody thinks that "pipe-laying," "log-rolling," and "wire-pulling" are possible in the General Conference. And if so much of it is possible in reference to the *higher offices* of the Church is it not also possible that these chairman-

ships may be sought by aspirants as stepping-stones to something higher? Will any one say, O, it is the American way of doing things, and that which is good enough in the State is good enough in the Church? We reply, first, that it is notorious that our very best men are rarely promoted in politics—that if one refuses to play into the hands of those who bend all things to success he is soon thrust “down and out;” and, secondly, it is *not* “the American way of doing things” in the chief legislative bodies of the land. Cushing, in his work on parliamentary practice, page 90, says: “One single point of difference between the functions of the speaker of the House of Commons and the same office in our legislative assemblies will serve to explain the relative authority they possess. With us it is the almost invariable practice to confer upon the presiding officer the appointment of all committees. . . . In England committees are usually named in the first instance by the member who proposes the resolution for their appointment, subject, of course, to the control of the house.”

These two methods of appointment are before you, side by side—the American method, which puts the appointment of these most important officers in the hands of those most competent and disinterested, and the other the method of ward caucuses, which open the door, at least, for the entrance of men whose chief recommendation is their ambition to occupy the chair. We submit that our Board of Bishops, whose business it is to study men, and whose general superintendency brings them in contact with the largest number of the

ablest minds of the Church, know best the men who shall meet its demands. They are manifestly in a position the farthest removed from the reach of partisan influence or passion, and the best qualified from their extensive knowledge and acknowledged disinterestedness to make these appointments for the good of the Church alone. On the other hand, here is a practice which, at least, opens a door for the politicians of the Church, a standing temptation to pipe-laying, log-rolling, or wire-pulling. We call upon this body to bolt the door upon this political spirit—a growing evil in our midst—and to make it fast with a seal as broad and emphatic as a unanimous vote, as “This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.” To every busy button-holer who says, “You go for my candidate and I will go for yours,” let every delegate say, “Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offense unto me, for thou savorest not of the things that be of God, but those that be of men.” “Resist the devil and he will flee from you.” At the very opening of every session, let us send demagoguery to its own place. Let us bury it in a pit that is bottomless.

As to the importance of a very great reduction in the size, we think there is a good degree of unanimity. The members of a large committee stand in each other’s way and tend to reduce the sense of responsibility. Put a few men in the focal blaze of the world’s thought and you wonderfully stimulate both their industry and their fidelity; cloud that position with numbers and you remove that stimulus. The depravity that inheres in masses of even good men finds ex-

pression in a singularly absurd and contradictory aphorism. Instead of saying, "What is every body's business is my business," depravity feels and acts on the proposition that what is every body's business is nobody's business.

The wisdom of the General Convention is at no point more apparent than in the fact that, while the body numbers three hundred and eighty, or twenty-five more than our own, most of their standing committees number only thirteen. Two members of the standing committees from each of the General Conference districts is the very highest number we should think of allowing.

2. Freedom of discussion. By the light of our axioms let us interpret our tables under this head.

What are the facts? The number of words employed in the debates of a session is one of the surest indexes at least of its freedom. Look at Exhibit No. 3. The debates of our last General Conference session, as published in the *Daily Christian Advocate*, exclusive of fraternal addresses, though continued twenty-seven days, number but 271,418 words, while those of the General Convention for twenty days only, as published in the *Daily Churchman*, exclusive of fraternal addresses, number 500,395 words; almost double the number of the Conference. See also Exhibit No. 5, giving the number of times some of the reports were discussed.

On what conditions can this amazing difference in the result be accounted for?

(1.) The first condition of freedom of debate was not

in their favor, for the size of the Convention (see Exhibit No. 2—General Conference 335, General Convention 380) exceeded that of the General Conference by twenty-five members.

(2.) Its second condition, limiting speakers to fifteen minutes, the same as our own, was *oftener suspended than any other rule*, and unbounded liberty was accorded to some of the speakers, who, having something special to say, occupied the floor for hours in succession.

(3.) *The previous question*, that *standing reproach* of Methodist legislation, was not recognized by the rules of the Convention. The only approximation apparent was the fixing in only a few instances of a date in the future at which hour a vote should be taken, the debater meantime, of course, being allowed to continue.

(4.) We come now to the fourth condition of freedom of debate, and one of the most important—an order of business which shall save the time that should be given to debate. When one reads in our Journal such sentences as the following, "After protracted discussion as to the best methods of organization of standing committees the whole subject was laid on the table,"* we get a glimpse of the manner in which most valuable time is consumed, not in doing, but in simply getting ready to do; and if one will go carefully through the General Conference Journals and dailies, distinguishing between the *motions to act*, or such as relate to the temporary agencies, methods, and conveniences of the acting body itself, on the one hand, and *motions to*

* General Conference Journal, p. 72.

enact, such as relate to permanent legislation for the whole Church, and note the vast excess of the former over the latter, he will no longer wonder that we have almost ceased to be a deliberative body; that we have so little time for discussion.

In Exhibit 4 we find that, while in the General Convention the motions to enact are almost double the number of those to act, in the General Conference the *motions to act* are *more than double the motion to enact*, as 375 to 182—more than two to one. The scaffolding twice the size of edifice in building! Was that exhibit ever paralleled in ecclesiastical architecture elsewhere, or in other departments of human endeavor? A railway engine that should require a tender for its fuel twice the size of its train would either be run through the land as a curiosity, or off the track at the first station. A drayman who should toggle his harness until it was twice the size and weight of an ordinary load would be arrested for “cruelty to animals.” And the architect or master builder who would spend twice as much time, labor, and money on his scaffolding as on his building would be either sent to Bedlam as crazy or to General Conference *as just the man!* In the General Convention we find the motions to act only about one half the number of the motions to enact—the house twice the size of the scaffolding, as it should be. Is it any wonder that the one has ample time for discussion and that the other finds it convenient to “move the previous question” twenty-nine times in twenty-seven days?

A few facts in the General Convention readily account for this amazing contrast, and show how time is

saved for the thorough discussion of every thing that comes before it :

(1.) The rules of each session being binding on all subsequent sessions of the convention, each session is, of course, organized under law. The number and names of the standing committees are all ordered in the rules, and there is no need of wasting time by “ motions to *act*.”

(2.) The standing committees cover nearly all the committee ground of the Convention—the Committee on Elections, for instance, charged with the admission of all new members to seats in the Convention, granting leave of absence, etc., by a single report, which is accepted without action, disposes of a large list of motions to act, and saves much time.

(3.) The president, by appointing all committees and announcing all changes in committees, saves another large list of motions to act and much valuable time.

3. The conditions of security of enactment, other things being equal, are (1) those parliamentary checks or brakes upon the hurry and heedlessness of business, such as the requisition of notice, permission to bring in, referring to committees, the writing of resolutions, the printing of reports, the ordering of a certain number of readings, the going into committee before the third reading; and (2) especially the degree of distinctiveness and separation of the two concurring or disagreeing houses. Singular as it may seem, the *self-evidency* of this latter condition is questioned by some who admit the axiomatic character of the former!! What is the principle involved in the one-house check

that requires a reference to a committee of a subject introduced but this very principle of the *concurrency* of *distinct* and *separate* houses, at least in their fractional sphere? Can any man question that the special value of a standing committee consists in the very fact that, as a committee, its sessions are both distinct and separate from those of the larger and concurrent body, or that this identical principle, at the very summit of one-house wisdom, finds its fullest expression and most powerful application for the security of enactment in the *utterly distinct and perfectly separated* action of two concurrent houses? Are not two brakes better than one? Can a weak one be more conducive to safety than a strong one?

As the intrinsic value of a check or brake in physics consists in the fact that its application involves the interaction of two distinct and separately projected forces, so it is axiomatically evident that legislative science never nails the brake to the periphery of the *revolving* legislative wheel, but posits it on a distinct and separate basis of action.*

* This chapter is incomplete. It was evidently Dr. Perrine's last literary work, and was left by him in an unfinished condition.—
EDITOR.

CHAPTER XX.

OBJECTIONS TO THE TWO-HOUSE PRINCIPLE.

“THE two-house principle has been declared by the advocates of democratic unity to be an aristocratic institution. This is an utter mistake. It is in reality a truly popular principle to insist on the protection of a legislature divided into two houses.”* Daniel Webster shows that this is not a check upon the people, but upon the agents of the people, that they may be restrained from oppressing the people by hasty, indiscreet, or unjust legislation.†

When, in the last French constitutional assembly, Odillon Barrot urged with ability the adoption of two houses, Lamartine argued substantially that the great principle of unity (he meant centralization) required the establishment of one house, and that unless the legislature was vested in one house alone, “it would be too difficult to make it pass over from a simple legislature to an assembly with *dictatorial power*.” His words, literally translated, were as follows: “To such (domestic) dangers you must not think of opposing two or three powers. That which ought to oppose it is a direct dictatorship uniting within its hand all the powers of the State, etc.”

The two-house principle is the most insurmountable

* Lieber, p. 194.

† See Webster's Works, vol. i, p. 10.

bulwark against despotic power that political science has ever devised. Its practical effect on such rules of procedure as Lamartine proposed is like a giant pillar to the fabric of liberty.

One house only belongs to centralization, and is incompatible with a government of a co-operative or concurrent character, which we hold to be the government of freedom.

"The opposition," says Woolsey, "made to two chambers on the ground that it is not democratic deserves no consideration."

Another objection is that a people cannot have two wills at the same time on the same subject. Hence the legislative body which represents the people ought to be essentially one. One of the houses is, therefore, a clog on the otherwise free movement of the community.

But the question in legislation is not so much what *is* but what *ought* to be the will of the people. What would it be if they were in the representatives' place, invested with the powers of investigating and deciding! Still further, it is a harder problem to find out in strictness of speech what is the will of the people than it is to find out what measures are best for the common welfare. The opinion and will of any modern community changes with rapidity, so that a minority easily becomes a majority; and this ever-changing will is more likely to find expression in two houses elected at different times and renewed in a different manner than could possibly be in one house alone. Woolsey, in his *Political Science*, says: "Both houses ought to represent public wisdom and intelligence, and progress along

the lines of conservative principle. But if they were chosen at the same time and continued for the same time in office they would be of little use; indeed, they would be under the temptation to differ in order that it might be seen that they held independent opinions or possessed superior ability. The conservative and progressive tendencies ought not to belong respectively to different parts of the political machine; both chambers should be progressive and both conservative, although if elected at different times they would have these two elements in differing proportion.”—P. 311.

“There are also excitements in one house which do not reach the other. Every public body is influenced by the bias and temper of particular members, and a house large enough to excite debaters into passion will be more liable to this flaw than one the composition of which does not disturb the calm that should belong to a deliberative body. I believe that the confidence given to the bicameral system in the United States rests very much on the feeling that two bodies somewhat differently constituted will originate more careful and better digested legislation than could be expected from one.” *

Again: “The true view of the two houses is, *first*, that by this means hasty legislation is prevented. Each house, knowing that the propositions which originate in it will be carefully scrutinized by the other, will be rendered more careful, more deliberate, more awake to objections. Even its own reputation is at stake before the public. (One house cannot be expected to have a

tender regard for the good name of the other, but will be too ready to find fault with its conclusions.) Mr. Mill attaches little weight to this, for he says: 'It must be a very ill-constituted representative assembly in which the established forms of business do not require many more than two deliberations.'

"2. Another advantage of two chambers is that they lessen the evil effect produced on the minds of any holders of power when they have only themselves to consult. This consideration is urged by Mr. Mill, and I give it nearly in his language: 'It is important that no set of persons should be able even temporarily to make their *sic volo* prevail without asking any one else for his consent. A majority, . . . composed of the same persons habitually acting together, easily becomes despotic and overbearing if released from the necessity of considering whether its acts will be concurred in by another constitutional authority.'"

Again, it is objected to the two-house principle that it will have a tendency to separate the laity and the ministry; that it will be a bar to mutual sympathy.

1. To this it will be easily said that the principle embodied in it is of too wide application. It lies with equal force against all licensing, all ordination, against every possible distinction between laity and ministry, and must be pronounced unscriptural, un-Methodistic, contrary to the established facts of experience, and therefore worthless as an objection.

2. It is absurd that the best means for the protection of mutual interests should be a bar to good feeling. The laity and the ministry, each at liberty in

a distinct and separate house, could act with greater freedom, and with far less of the feeling that, in given instances, the legislation is the result of class tendencies. The separate consideration of each other's well-considered measures would promote rather than retard the brotherly element.

CHAPTER XXI.

PLAN FOR TWO HOUSES.

THE following plan was proposed by Dr. Perrine to the General Conference of 1880, May 13, and referred to the Committee on the Legislative Department of the Church:

Whereas, "One of the first acts in the organization of the early Christian Church," says Rev. George R. Crooks, D.D., the most vigorous writer of the age on lay representation, "was the separation of the temporal concerns from the spiritual work ;" * and,

Whereas, Dr. Coke, "the first Protestant bishop of the New World," the man who, under God, was appointed to lay the structural foundation of American Episcopal Methodism, according to the Journal of the General Conference of 1804, "moved," under date of May 11, "to divide the spiritual and temporal concerns of the Discipline" (p. 54), and again, under date of May 22, "moved that the first division of the Discipline shall be entitled only 'The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church,'"—subjects which he most religiously believed were *especially* committed by the authority of the great Head of the Church to the supervision of those who are called of God and freely elected to the divinely appointed office of pastoral elders—

* See Acts vi, and *Methodist*, May 1, 1875.

“and the second division be entitled only ‘The Temporal Economy of the Methodist Episcopal Church’” (p. 64), thus consistently opening a door through which the laity might some day enter the legislative councils of the Church in perfect harmony with the word of God, and in the light of the best accredited maxims of legislative science; and,

Whereas, According to letters received since the last General Conference, bearing date of August 9, 24, and 30, 1876, from the now lamented Dr. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia, in which he speaks of Bishop Asbury’s two-house views as “the wonderful communication made to me sixty-five years ago,” and of the equally wonderful fact “that I should have been spared so many years to declare this wonderful conception of the pioneer bishop of Episcopal Methodism at the only time when it has been called for by pending issues,” it appears that “Bishop Asbury,” so far from even outlining any thing that could bear the slightest semblance to the crudities of the present “plan,” as some have affirmed, according to Dr. Pierce’s recollection, “never said a word in reference to a mixed-up General Conference of lay and clerical delegates, all voting together as one simple mass;” that “Bishop Asbury’s ideal was two houses” (Aug. 9): “A house of representatives made up of laymen and local preachers,” “in which branch of the General Conference every department in the Church (that is, the laity and local preachership) requiring *special* legislation should be represented;” “next, a senatorial house, made up exclusively of itinerant ministers,” “his grand idea” being “that an itinerant ministry must, of course, demand

and have special legislation;" that, "being in itself a grand specialty," "it could be a real itinerant ministry only when its legislation is for itself and by itself, or safely under its control;" that "his safeguard for American Episcopal Methodism was the common sense of State legislation; that nothing could be law until both houses passed upon it" (August 24, 1876); and,

Whereas, This "common sense of State legislation," which gives to the immediate representatives of the people the initiative in all money bills, and to the Senate certain special executive functions, if applied to Methodism, giving to the house of lay representatives the initiative in all measures relating to finance and other temporalities, and to the clerical senate the initiative in all measures relating to changes in the ritual and other spiritual concerns, would achieve not only the effective application of the division of labor principle, the most authoritative in civilization, and thus the highest degree of efficiency in ecclesiastical legislation yet attained by the Church, but, by giving to each of the determinate orders of the clergy and laity in the Church the distinctive functions and responsibilities enjoined of God and the fathers, would accomplish that most devoutly to be desired end, the absolute reconciliation of the now hostile and belligerent theories of the old and new Methodisms; and,

Whereas, Ninety-five of the leaders of the last General Conference, lacking only thirty-two of a majority, stood up not only in repudiation of the crudities of the present plan, but in favor of the original principles of Methodism, and of genuine progress along these con-

servative lines toward the goal of God's ideal in legislation; therefore,

Resolved, That it be referred to the Committee on the Legislative Department of the Church, to consider and report upon the propriety of changing Part II, chapter i, section 1, paragraphs 62, 63, and 64, of the Discipline so as to read as follows:

PART II.—GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.—THE CONFERENCES.

Section 1.—The General Conference.

¶ 62. The General Conference shall consist of a clerical senate and a house of lay representatives.

I. CLERICAL SENATE.

¶ 63. The clerical senate shall be composed of one delegate in elders' orders for every — members of each Annual Conference, to be appointed either by seniority or choice, at the discretion of such Annual Conference.

¶ 64. At all times when the clerical senate is met it shall take two thirds of the clerical delegates elect to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

¶ 65. One of the general superintendents shall preside in the clerical senate, but in case no general superintendent be present the clerical senate shall proceed without debate to the election of a president *pro tem*.

¶ 66. The clerical senate shall have the initiative in all measures relating to the ritual and other spiritual

concerns of the Church, and in case of amendments arising thereto in the house of lay representatives the final determination thereof shall be with the clerical senate.

II. HOUSE OF LAY REPRESENTATIVES.

¶ 67. The house of lay representatives shall be composed of one layman for every — members of the Church within the bounds of his Annual Conference, and also for every additional — thousand members; said lay representatives to be chosen by the lay stewards of the Annual Conferences on the day fixed for the election of delegates to the clerical senate, but by a separate vote, provided that the number of lay delegates to the house of representatives shall at least be equal to the number elected to the clerical senate, and that no layman shall be eligible for an election to the General Conference who shall be under twenty-five years of age, and who shall not have been a member of the Church for five consecutive years immediately preceding his election.

¶ 68. At all times when the house of lay representatives is met it shall require two thirds of all the lay representatives elect to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

¶ 69. The house of lay representatives shall choose its own president and other officers.

¶ 70. The house of lay representatives shall have the initiative in all measures of finance, and other temporalities of the Church, and in case of amendments arising thereto in the clerical senate the final deter-

mination thereof shall be with the house of lay representatives.

III. CONCURRENT POWERS, ETC.

¶ 71. These two distinct and separate houses shall have concurrent power, as above provided, to make all rules and regulations for our Church under the following limitations and restrictions: (see Sec. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, Restrictive Rules.)

¶ 72. Joint sessions of the two houses shall be held for the hearing of the quadrennial addresses of the bishops, for the reception of fraternal delegations, and for the election of all the officers of the Church elected by the General Conference; but no legislation shall be valid except it shall be the concurrent action of two distinct and separate houses.

¶ 73. All elections of bishops, book agents, secretaries, and editors of the Church shall be invariably by ballot.

¶ 74. Neither house, during the session of the General Conference, shall adjourn for more than three days without consent of the other, nor to any other locality than that in which the General Conference shall be sitting.

¶ 75. The General Conference shall meet in the city of Philadelphia on the first Wednesday in May, 1884, and thenceforward in such place or places as shall be fixed upon from time to time by the General Conference; but the general superintendents, or a majority of them, with the advice of two thirds of all the Annual Conferences, or, if there be no general superintendents, two thirds of all the Annual Conferences, shall have

power to call an extra session of the General Conference at any time, all vacancies to be filled in the usual way.

THE PLAN

as modified by the committee, and recommended to the General Conference, May 24, 1880 :

PART II.—GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.—THE CONFERENCES.

Section 1.—The General Conference.

¶ 62. The General Conference shall consist of two distinct, separate, and concurrent houses, to be called the house of ministerial delegates and the house of lay delegates.

¶ 63. The house of ministerial delegates shall consist of one delegate for every forty-five ministers of each Annual Conference, to be appointed either by seniority or choice, at the discretion of such Annual Conference, yet so that such representatives shall have traveled at least four full calendar years from the time that they were received on trial by an Annual Conference, and are in full connection at the time of holding the Conference.

¶ 64. The house of lay delegates shall consist of two laymen for each Annual Conference entitled to two or more ministerial delegates, and of one layman for each Annual Conference entitled to but one ministerial delegate, said delegates to be chosen by an electoral conference of laymen, which shall assemble for the purpose on the third day of the session of the Annual

Conference at the place of its meeting at its session immediately preceding the General Conference.

¶ 65. The electoral conference shall be composed, etc. (same as in Discipline).

¶ 66. The General Conference shall meet, etc. (same as in Discipline).

¶ 67. Whenever the General Conference is convened each house shall be the judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day.

¶ 68. One of the bishops shall preside in the house of ministerial delegates, but in case no bishop be present the house shall proceed to choose from its own body, without debate, a president *pro tempore*. Said house shall also choose all its other officers.

¶ 69. The house of lay delegates shall elect from among its own members, without debate, the president thereof, and shall choose all its other officers.

¶ 70. Each house shall have power to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other.

¶ 71. Each house may determine the rules of its own proceedings, and shall keep and publish a Journal thereof; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall be, at the desire of one fifth of those present, entered upon the Journal.

¶ 72. Neither house during the session of the General Conference shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than one day, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

¶ 73. Joint sessions of the two houses shall be held

for the hearing of the quadrennial addresses of the bishops, the reception of fraternal delegates, and for the election of all the officers of the Church elected by the General Conference; but no legislation shall be valid except it shall be the concurrent action of the two distinct and separate houses.

¶ 74. All elections of bishops, book agents, secretaries of church societies, and editors of our official papers and periodicals shall be invariably by ballot.

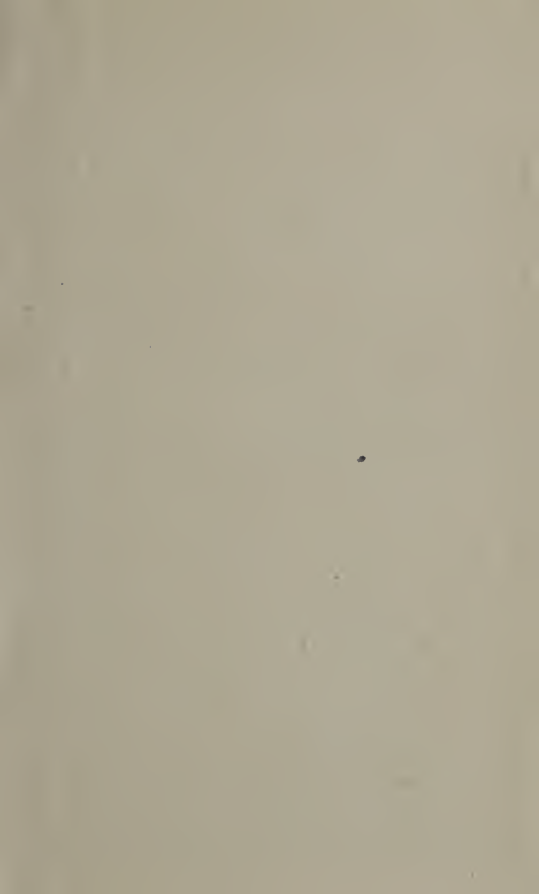
¶ 75. The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following limitations and restrictions; namely, (see 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, Restrictive Rules, in Discipline, without change as now.)

¶ 76. *Provided, nevertheless,* that, upon the concurrent recommendation of three fourths of all the members of the several Annual Conferences succeeding who shall be present and vote on such recommendation, a majority of two thirds of each house comprising the General Conference succeeding shall suffice to alter any of the above provisions excepting the first restriction. And also whenever such alteration or alterations shall have been recommended by two thirds of each house of which the General Conference is composed, so soon as three fourths of the members of all the Annual Conferences shall have concurred as aforesaid, such alteration or alterations shall take effect.

CHAPTER XXII.

TWO HOUSES—DATE OF ORIGIN.

Great Britain, before the time of Edward III.	South Australia.....	1856
United States of America..	Mexico.....	1857
1787	Nicaragua . . .	1858
Norway	Queensland.....	1859
1814	Guatemala	1859
Bavaria.....	Hamburg	1860
1818	New Zealand.....	1862
Württemberg	Colombia	1863
1819	Greece.....	1864
Hesse	San Salvador.....	1864
1820	Venezuela.....	1864
Brazil	San Domingo... ..	1865
1824	Honduras	1865
Bolivia	Sweden.....	1866
1826	Roumania	1866
Belgium.....	Egypt	1867
1831	Hungary	1867
Saxony	Austria.....	1867
1831	Hayti.....	1867
Uruguay	Canada	1867
1831	Pern.....	1867
Chili.....	Natal	1870
1833	Paraguay	1870
Hong Kong.....	Germany	1871
1843	Tasmania	1871
Equador.....	Cape of Good Hope.....	1872
1843	Switzerland.....	1874
Baden.....	France.....	1875
1848	Spain	1876
Italy		
1848		
Netherlands.....		
1848		
Liberia		
1848		
Bremen		
1849		
Denmark.....		
1849		
Lubeck		
1851		
Saxe-Coburg.....		
1852		
Portugal.....		
1852		
Argentine Republic.....		
1853		
Victoria.....		
1854		
Prussia		
1854		
New South Wales		
1855		
Servia.....		
1856		



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